torical Quarterly

TED BY
AW, M A B L, P R S, PH D
pages, Super royal, 8vo
ure, Religion, Philosophy, Folk lore
raphy, Geography Ethnology etc
lian Rs 8 12 Foreign 14s

OPINIONS

Royal Asiatic Society The Quarterly more and more learned You deserve y focussing so many eminent writers in all Oriental Journals and about India

— — — his History of Sanskrit Literature (Oxford, 1928) preface, xxvii fn — 'Congratulations are due to the editor Dr Narendra Nath Law of this most interesting Quarterly in which there has already appeared much useful and suggestive work on a wide range of topics

Prof S K Belvalkar of Poona —I regret very much that I delayed so long subscribing for your excellent Quarterly It is a journal that few oriental students can afford to be without

Dr M Walleser —I am quite astonished at the variety and quantity of information contained in it your I H Quarterly stands in the foremost rank of all Oriental Journals

Prof. E W Hopkins of Conn —I am much pleased with its appearance and contents of *so useful a periodical*

Prof L Finot read with an undecreasing interest your excellent Quarterly of which every number affords so much for learning and thinking

Prof M Winternitz —It is full of highly interesting and important matter and keeps up a high standard of scholarship It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History

Prof H Jacobi —I have perused your Quarterly with great interest I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then

Prof J Jolly of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly

Prof Jules Bloch —It is very interesting indeed and various and important matters are discussed in it

Prof Louis de La Vallee Poussin—It is a great pleasure to read your excellent Quarterly

Dr Otto Schrader —Your very promising Indian Historical Quarterly looks like becoming so far as Indian subjects are concerned a most respectable rival of the *JRAS* of Great Britain and Ireland

Dr Otto Strauss —I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years

Prof J Przyluski —L'interet des articles publies dans votre revue ne m a pas echappe C'est une publication de premiere ordre tres variee est fort instructive

Dr E J Thomas —The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India

Prof Sylvain Levi —Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years a progress that I followed with a sincere joy

THE CALCUTTA ORIENTAL PRESS LTD
9 Panchanan Ghose Lane Calcutta

CONTENTS

Miscellany:

Reviews:

Select Contents of Oriental Journals:

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XIX **June, 1943** **No. 2**

Bhavabhūti

In the earlier group of great Sanskrit dramatists, Bhavabhūti is perhaps one of the youngest, but he occupies a very high place, which in Indian estimation has been often reckoned as next to that of Kālidāsa, as the author of three important plays One of these, the *Mālatī-mādhava*[1] gives a fictitious romantic love-story of middle-class life, and the other two, the *Mahāvīra-carita*[2] and the *Uttara-rāma-carita*,[3] deal respectively with the earlier and the later history of Rāma and derive their theme from the *Rāmāyana* Unlike most of his contemporaries and predecessors, Bhavabhūti is not entirely

1 Ed R G Bhandarkar, with com of Jagaddhara, Bombay Skt Ser, 1905, ed M R Telang, with comms of Jagaddhara Tripurāri (i-vii) and Nānyadeva (viii-x), NSP, Bombay, 1926 (1st ed 1892) No Eng trs, except Wilson's free rendering in *Select Specimens*, ii,, French trs by G Strehly, Paris 1885, German trs by Ludwig Fritze, Leipzig 1883 One of the earliest editions is that of C Lassen, Bonn 1832

2 The earlier editions of Trithen (London 1848) and Anundaram Borooah (Calcutta 1877) are superseded by the critical ed, based on important manuscripts, by Todar Mall, Oxford Univ Press, 1928 (Punjab Univ Publ) Also ed T R Ratnam Aiyar and K P Parab, with comm of Vīrarāghava, NSP 3rd ed Bombay 1910 (1st ed 1892) Eng trs by John Picford, London 1871

3 Ed T R Ratnam Aiyar and K P Parab, with comm of Vīrarāghava, NSP, Bombay 1906 (1st ed 1899) ed with comm of Rāmacandra Budhendra, Madras 1882, ed P V Kane, with comm of Ghanaśyāma (1st half of the 18th century, *Journal of Orient Research*, Madras, iii, 1929, pp 231-43), Bombay 1921, ed C Sankarama Sastri, with comm of Nārāyana, Balamanorama Press, Madras 1932, ed S K Belvalkar (Text only), Poona 1921, ed S K Belvalkar, vol i containing Trs and Introd only Harvard Orient Ser, Cambridge (Mss) 1915 Also Eng trs by C H Tawney, Calcutta 1871, French trs by Felix Nève, Bruxelles and Paris 1880, and by P d'Alheim, Bois-le-roi 1906 Besides Sten Konow's *Indische Drama* (Grundriss Series, Berlin and Leipzig 1920), pp 79-81, and M Schuyler's *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, New York 1906, pp 27-31, see Schuyler in *JAOS*, xxv, 1904, pp 189f for fuller bibliography

reticent about himself. In the Prologues to his three plays he gives us some autobiographical details.[4] We are told that he belonged to a pious and learned Brahman family of the Kāśyapa Gotra, who followed and taught the Taittirīya branch of the Black Yajurveda, duly maintained the Five Fires, performed Soma sacrifices, bore the surname of Udumbara and lived in Padmapura probably in Vidarbha (the Berars). Bhavabhūti was fifth in descent from one who was called Mahākavi ('Great Poet') and who performed the Vājapeya sacrifice, and his grandfather was Bhatta Gopāla, his father Nīlakantha and his mother Jātūkarnī. The poet himself was given the title of Śrīkantha, but commentators imagine that Bhavabhūti was also a title he won as a poet blessed with luck or the holy ashes (Bhūti) of Śiva (Bhava). His preceptor was a pious and learned ascetic, named appropriately Jñānanidhi.[5] He studied the Vedas and Upanisads, the Sāmkhya and Yoga, and mastered various branches of learning, including grammar, rhetoric and logic, a statement which it is not impossible to corroborate from the knowledge displayed in his works.[6] Although a scholar and given occasionally to a love of display, Bhavabhūti seldom pushes his scholarship to the verge of pedantry. He was essentially a poet, and like his predecessor Bāna he had apparently a rich and varied experience of life, and stood, as he himself tells us, in friendly relation with actors, into whose hand he gave his plays; but this latter fact need not justify the efforts that have been made to trace evidence of revision of his plays for stage-purposes. All his plays were enacted at the fair of Lord Kālapriyānātha, usually identified with Mahākala, whose famous shrine at Ujjayinī is mentioned by Kālidāsa and Bāna.

Although, like Bāna, Bhavabhūti gives us an interesting account of himself and his family, yet, unlike Bāna, he says nothing about the time when he lived. He shows familiarity with court-life, but does not refer to

4 The account, scantiest in *Uttara*° and fullest in *Mahāvīra*°, is summarised and discussed by Bhandarkar, Todar Mall and Belvalkar (vol 1), in the works cited above.

5 The colophon to act iii of a manuscript of *Mālatī-mādhava* (see S P Pandit's introd. to *Gaudavaho* pp ccv *et seq*) assigns the play to a pupil of Kumārila, while the colophon to act iv gives the name of this pupil as Umbekācārya. But undue weight need not be attached to the testimony of a single manuscript to prove that these acts are substitutions, or that Bhavabhūti is identical with the well known pupil and commentator of Kumārila, although chronology is not incompatible and knowledge of Mīmāmsā not impossible to infer from the plays.

6 On Bhavabhūti's scholarship, see Keith in *JRAS*, 1914 p 729f and Todar Mall, pp xxv-xxvi, xlii-xliv, Peterson in *JBRAS*, xviii, 1891 p 109f

any royal favour. On the contrary, he is evidently distressed by the lack of contemporary appreciation of his works, and declares, with defiant but charming egotism, that there will some day arise a kindred spirit to do justice to his genius, for, 'time is boundless and the world is wide'. The inference is possible that he had to struggle hard for fame and fortune, although we do not know how far the bliss of conjugal love, which he idealises in his writings, proved a solace to him in reality.[7] In view of all this, it is surprising to find that the Kashmirian chronicler Kahlana[8] mentions Bhavabhūti, along with Vākpatirāja, as having been patronised by king Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja. Obviously, this Vākpatirāja is the author of the enormous, but unfinished, Prakrit poem *Gaudavaha*, which glorifies Yaśovarman and in which the poet acknowledges indebtedness to Bhavabhūti in eulogistic terms.[9] As this poem is presumed to have been composed about 736 A.D. before Yaśovarman's defeat and humiliation by king Lalitāditya of Kashmir,[10] it is inferred that Bhavabhūti flourished, if not actually in the court of Yaśovarman, at least during his reign, in the closing years of the 7th or the first quarter of the 8th century. This date agrees with what is known of our poet's chronological relations with other writers. He is certainly later than Kālidāsa, with whose writings he is familiar,[11] and apparently also than Bāṇa, who does not mention him. The earliest writer to eulogise Bhavabhūti (besides Vākpatirāja) is Rājaśekhara,[12] and the earliest work in which anonymous quotations from his works occur is the *Kāvyālaṃkāra*[13] of Vāmana; both these references set the lower limit of his date at the last quarter of the 8th century.

The plot of the *Mālatī-mādhava* is based on the time-worn theme of love triumphant over obstacles, but we turn pleasantly from royal courts to

7 The view that Bhavabhūti is rural, as Kālidāsa is urban, is not justified by his works.

8 *Rāja tarangiṇī*, iv. 144.

9 Ed. S. P. Pandit, Bombay Skt. Ser., 1887, stanza 799 (the same reference in the revised edition by N. B. Utgikar, Poona, 1927).

10 The exact date is a matter of dispute, see Stein's note on the point in his translation of the *Rāja-taranginī*, introd. sec 85; also see the question discussed in the works of Bhandarkar, Pandit and Belvalkar (vol. 1) cited above.

11 See Todar Mall, pp. xxxix-xliii, Belvalkar, vol. 1, p. xl.

12 *Bāla-rāmāyana*, 1. 16.

13 *Kāvyā*° 1. 2. 12=*Mahāvīra*° 1. 54, iv. 3. 6=*Uttara*° 1. 38. For other citations in rhetorical and anthological literature, see Todar Mall, p. xxix, but, curiously enough, Todar Mall omits these two citations of Vāmana.

a more plebeian atmosphere and find greater individuality of presentation. Bhavabhūti prides himself (i 4) upon the ingenuity of his plot, to a certain extent, this is justifiable But the general outlines of the central story and some of the striking incidents and episodes have been industriously traced to the two Kashmirian adaptations of the *Bṛhatkathā*, respectively made by Ksemendra[14] and Somadeva,[15] with the suggestion that Bhavabhūti derived them, or at least hints of them, from Gunādhya's lost work But even granting that the coincidences[16] are not accidental, it should be recognised that the evolving of the plot as a whole, in ten acts, by a dextrous combination of varied motifs and situations is apparently the poet's own. The central interest is made to rest, not upon one love-story, but upon two parallel love-stories, skilfully blended together and crowded with such exciting and unexpected turn of incidents as is not normally found in such stories There is also some real comic relief—a rare thing in Bhavabhūti—and a free use of the terrible, horrible and supernatural sentiments. The main plot moves round the love of Mādhava, a young student, and Mālatī, daughter of a cabinet minister, it is thwarted by the interposition of a powerful suitor in Nandana, nominated by the king, but it ends with achievement of success, partly through accidents and partly through the diplomacy of a shrewd, resourceful and kind-hearted Buddhist nun,[17] Kāmandakī, a friend and class-mate of the fathers of Mādhava and Mālatī The by-plot, which is obviously meant to be a parallel as well as a contrast, is concerned with the love of Makaranda and Madayantikā, it is linked to the main plot by

14 xi 9-88 (Madirāvati), iii 218-30, v 100 163 (Aśokadatta)

15 xiii 1 17-215 (Madiravati), v 2 (Aśokadatta), xviii 2 (Madanamañjari and Khandakapāla)

16 Such as, impersonation and marriage in disguise, meeting of lovers in a temple, rescue from a wild animal (the conventional elephant being replaced by the tiger), offering of human flesh and seeking the aid of ghosts in the cemetery, attempted immolation by a magician, abduction and rescue of the heroine, etc But some of the motifs belong to the floating stock-in-trade of story-telling

17 The Buddhist nun as a go-between, or more euphemistically a match-maker, is a familiar figure in Indian story-telling, and occurs in the *Daśakumāra-carita*, where she helps Apahāravarman to meet Kāmamañjari, Ratnāvati to regain her husband Balabhadra, and Kalahakantha to evolve the scheme of winning Nimbavati, but in this drama she is a much more dignified person Even if she freely discusses matters of love *a la* Kāma-śāstra, she is a sincere, wise and loving woman, who promotes the love of the young couples partly out of affection for them and partly out of the memory of her old friendship with their fathers.

presenting Madayantikā as a sister of Mālatī's rival suitor Nandana, and by making Mādhava's friend Makaranda fall in love with her. The interweaving of the plot and the by-plot is complicated and diversified by the comic episode of the pretended marriage of Nandana to Makaranda disguised as Mālatī, as well as by two sensational escapes of Mālatī from violent death Makaranda's impersonation, which also involves Madayantikā's mistaking him for Mālatī and confessing her own love to him unawares, ending in their elopement, is made parallel to the imposition on Mālatī, with a similar result, by Mādhava's taking the place of Mālatī's companion Lavaṅgikā, while Mādhava's valiant rescue of Mālatī from the clutches of a Kāpālika becomes, in the same way, a natural counterpart of Makaranda's heroic, but somewhat conventional, rescue of Madayantikā from the claws of a tiger.

There can be no doubt that the dramatist knows the value of contrast, but he also knows the value of suspense, and in spite of the length of the drama, the interest is sustained by skilful inventiveness and by a naturally developed interplay of two parallel, but contrasted, plots The defect, however, is that the subsidiary plot and its chief characters tend to overshadow the main plot and its hero and heroine This happens partly on account of the important part played by the daring and resourceful Makaranda, by whose side the love-sick and melodramatic Mādhava pales into the conventional hero, and partly by the extremely arresting character of the shrewd and lively Madayantikā, who similarly surpasses Mālatī, the shy and hesitating official heroine The action also, notwithstanding a series of exciting incidents, suffers as a whole from a vital weakness in the central conception Kāmandakī, with her kindly scheming, is undoubtedly meant to hold the key-position in the drama (the Kārya-vidhāna, as Kalahamsa says), far greater than the role of Friar Laurence in the *Romeo and Juliet,* or of the Parivrājikā in *Mālavikāgnimitra,* but the action of the drama is made to depend more on a series of accidents than on her clever diplomacy It is true that she takes the fullest advantage of lucky occurrences, but too many important events happen by pure accident to further her design The tiger-episode, which leads to the love of Makaranda and Madayantikā, is a veritable godsend to Kāmandakī, while Mālatī, twice on the verge of death, is saved by the merest chance, as the dramatist himself admits in v 28. The incidents are, of course, dramaticaly justified, and the element of chance cannot be entirely ruled out of a drama, as out of life, but their convenient

frequency demands too much from credulity They are consistent perhaps with the supernatural atmosphere, in which uncanny things might happen, but they leave the general impression that the play moves in an unreal world of folk-tale, in which tigers run wild in the streets, ghosts squeak in cemeteries, Kāpālikas perform gruesome rites unhindered, maidens are abducted with murderous intent, and people adept in occult sciences fly through the air with both good and bad purposes,—but all miraculously resolved into a final harmonious effect!

The lack of a sense of proportion is also seen in prolonging the play even after it naturally ends with act viii, in which the king moved by the valour of Mādhava and Makaranda, is disposed to pardon them and acknowledge the marriage The episodes of the two abductions of Mālatī hardly arise out of the story, but they are added to satisfy the sensational craving for the terrible and the gruesome, and to fill the whole of act ix and a part of act x with the grief and lamentation of the hapless Mādhava, separated from his beloved, in the approved manner of a man in *viraha* It may be said that the first abduction is meant to establish a parallelism by showing that Mādhava is no less heroic than his friend in the rescue of his own beloved, and that the second abduction by Kapālakuṇḍalā is a natural act of revenge for the slaying of Aghoraghaṇṭa, but these purposes need not have been realised by clumsy appendages, involving fortuitous coincidences, by the introduction of terrible scenes, which are too unreal to inspire real terror, as well as by an unnecessary display of poetic sentimentality, modelled obviously on the madness of Purūravas in Kālidāsa's drama

It is clear that, however lively, interesting and original the plot-construction of the play is, it lacks restraint, consistency and inevitableness But a still greater defect lies in Bhavabhūti's tendency to over-emphasise and his inability to stop at the right moment, seen in a damaging degree in the highly poetical, but unhindered, sentimental passages In his attempt to evoke tragic pathos, Bhavabhūti, with his unhumorous disposition, makes his hero faint too often, and this happens even at a time when he should rush to save his friend's life in danger! The love-agony frequently becomes prolonged, unmanly and unconvincing The exuberant descriptive and emotional stanzas and elaborate prose speeches,[18] the high-sounding phrases

18 E g the long Prakrit passages in acts iii and vii, the description of the

and lengthy compounds (albeit not so formidable as they look) had perhaps a special relish, as much for the poet as for his audience. Some of the passages are highly poetical and picturesque, but they indicate an expansiveness and lack of moderation, which are fatal to dramatic movement and propriety, and the fact that some of these stanzas are repeated in the other two plays gives the impression that the poet had them ready-made to be utilised whenever an opportunity presents itself. Much of the talk of love and grief, therefore, becomes unreal and tends to overwhelm action and characterisation.

Nevertheless, the *Mālatī-mādhava* possesses, in many respects, a unique interest in the history of the Sanskrit drama, not only as an attractive picture of certain aspects of middle-class life, but also because of its genuine poetic quality. It is really an interesting story cast in a loose dramatic form, rather than an accomplished drama, but inventiveness and movement are not wanting. There is little individuality in its chief hero and heroine, who are typically sentimental lovers, making a lot of fuss about themselves, but Makaranda and Madayantikā, as well as Kāmandakī, show that the author's power of characterisation is not of a mean order. There is indeed a great deal of melodrama, of which it is difficult for a romantic play to steer clear entirely, but which often mars its pathetic and dramatic effect, and the gratuitous introduction of supernatural and horrible scenes may be pertinently questioned. It must, however, be admitted that there is a great deal of real poetry and passion in Bhavabhūti's picture of youthful love, which reaches its most mature and mellow expression in his *Uttara-rāma-carita*. If the *Mālatī-mādhava* is one of his earliest works,[19] the faults are those of youth and inexperience, but Bhavabhūti, even in this sentimental play, is far more serious than most light-hearted Sanskrit poets, and the intense poetic quality of his erotic stanzas, with their music,[20] colouring and

19 The *Mahāvīra-carita* is often taken to be Bhavabhūti's earliest work, but it is difficult to dogmatise on the question of its priority to the *Mālatī-mādhava*. The *Uttara-carita* is unquestionably the most mature work, as the poet himself indicates.

20 In this play Bhavabhūti employs a large number of metres, about twenty-five, with considerable skill, including rarer metres like Dandaka (v. 23, fifty-four syllables in each foot), Nardataka (v. 31, ix. 18) and Aparavaktra (ix. 23). The Śloka is not frequent (occurring about 14 times), but other chief metres, in their order of frequency, are Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Śikhariṇī, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā and Hariṇī, the shorter metres being generally used for softer sentiments and the longer for the heroic and the awe-inspiring. There are eleven Āryās, to which

fervour, relieves their banality The picture of Mālatī, tossed between love and duty and reluctantly yielding to a stolen marriage, or the description of the first dawning of the passion in Mādhava and its effect on his youthful mind, is in the best manner of the poet and is much superior to what one finds normally in Sanskrit sentimental literature. The key-note of this weird but passionate love-story is perhaps given in the words of Makaranda (i 17) when he says that the potent will of love wanders unobstructed in this world, youth is susceptible, and every sweet and charming thing shakes off the firmness of the mind It is a study of the poetic possibilities of the undisciplined passion of youth, but no other Sanskrit poet well versed as he is in the delineation of such sentiment, has been able to present it with finer charm and more genuine emotional inflatus.

If the *Mālatī-mādhava* is defective in plot-construction, much improvement is seen in this respect in the *Mahāvīra-carita*, which reveals a clearer conception of dramatic technique and workmanship, even if it is feebler in characterisation and in the literary quality of its poetical stanzas It dramatises in seven acts[21] the early history of Rāma, beginning a little before

Kālidāsa also shows partiality In the *Mahavīra-carita* Bhavabhuti uses twenty different metres, in which the Śloka appears in about one-third of the total number of stanzas, the Śārdulavikrīḍita Vasantatilaka, Śikhariṇī, Sragdharā Mandākrānta and Upajāti coming next in order of frequency, the only unusual metre as Malyabhārā found in a single stanza, while Āryā occurs only thrice The *Uttara-carita* has the same metres as above but here the Śloka easily leads and the Śikhariṇī comes next to it, after which comes the Vasantatilaka and Śārdulavikrīḍita, while the Sragdharā, Drutavilambita and Mañjubhāṣiṇī are sporadic here, as in *Mālatī°* It is noteworthy that there is not a single Prakrit verse in all the three plays Bhavabhūti's Prakrit in prose passages, with their long compounds (which remind one of Vākpatirāja's laboured verse with long compounds, is obviously influenced by Sanskrit usage, but it is sparingly employed in the *Mahāvīra°* His vocabulary both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, has a tendency to prolixity, but it is extensive and generally adequate, while his poetic style is fully consistent with his poetical imagery and feeling

21 Unfortunately, the genuineness of the last two acts, namely the sixth and the seventh, and the concluding part of the fifth act is not beyond question Bhavabhūti's authorship of the text up to v 46 alone is proved by the agreement of all manuscripts and printed editions, but for the rest we have (i) the Vulgate text, found in most North Indian manuscripts and generally printed in most editions, (ii) the text of Subrahmanya found in South Indian manuscripts (printed in Ratnam Aiyar's edition as such), and (iii) the text of Vināyaka (printed in Todar Mall's ed), which agrees with the Vulgate in having the same text for acts vi and vii, but differs from it, as well as from Subrahmanya's text in the portion from v 46 to the end of the act None of these supplementary texts probably represents

his marriage and ending with his return from Laṅkā and coronation. The theme is found ready-made, but since the epic story is in the form of a narrative, containing a large number of episodes, incidents and characters, a mere panoramic reproduction of a series of pictures is hardly enough for a drama proper The problem before the dramatist is not only to select such incidents and characters as are necessary and appropriate, but also, where such selection is difficult, to modify and adjust them in such a way as to make the different units well arranged with adequate dramatic motive and unity of action In making daring, but judicious, changes even in a well-known and accepted story, Bhavabhūti gives evidence not only of the boldness and power of ingenious invention, but also of his sense of dramatic construction. Accordingly, the whole action is conceived as a feud of Rāvaṇa against Rāma The seed of dramatic conflict and movement is found in Rāvaṇa's discomfiture as a suitor by the rejection of his messenger and by the betrothal of Sītā to Rāma at the Svayamvara Rāvaṇa's desire for revenge at this insult to his pride and valour is further inflamed by death of Tāṭakā, Subāhu and other demons at the hands of Rāma, and the action is set in motion by the diplomacy of Rāvaṇa's valiant minister Mālyavat, which includes the crafty instigation by him of Paraśurāma and the despatch of Śūrpaṇakhā in the clever disguise of the nurse Mantharā, the second episode ingeniously exonerating Kaikeyī and supplying a motive for Śūrpaṇakhā's later conduct The first scheme fails, the second succeeds, after which the abduction of Sītā becomes easy In order to frustrate Rāma's efforts, there is then the intrigue of Mālyavat with Vālin, which serves the twofold purpose of exculpating the dubious conduct of Rāma and avoiding the unseemly fraternal quarrel between Vālin and Sugrīva But Vālin dies, and on the failure of diplomacy, nothing remains but the use of force, leading to the denouement of Rāvaṇa's defeat and death, rescue of Sītā and coronation of Rāma The changes, therefore, in the original story are many, but they are justified by the necessity of evolving a well-knit and consistent plot, and the action is developed mainly on the basis of a conflict between strategy and straightforwardness Whatever may be said about its adequacy, the attempt to motivate the episodes shows considerable dramatic sense and skill.

Bhavabhūti's own text, which is perhaps lost For a discussion of the whole question see Todar Mall's introduction, reviewed in detail by S K De in *IA*, lix, 1930, pp 13-18

But the plot fails to impress us as a whole. The central conception of the dramatic conflict is weak. The strategy of Mālyavat fails, not because it is met with an equally ingenious counter-strategy, not even because Rāma has superior strength and resources, but because it is destined that Rāma, with virtue in his favour, must ultimately win. On the side of villainy, Bhavabhūti was doubtless permitted to take as much liberty with the original story as he wished, but perhaps he could not do so with equal impunity on the side of virtue, the entire dramatic conflict, therefore, becomes unconvincing. The plot also suffers from Bhavabhūti's usual lack of restraint and of the sense of proportion, which are so glaring in his *Mālatī mādhava*, from a greater feebleness of characterisation and from a heavier and more uncouth style and diction. As in his *Uttara-carita*, Rāma here is human and normal, but he is conceived as the ideal hero of valour nobility and chivalry, and the human traits of his character (as also those of Sītā, who is here presented as fidelity incarnate) are not made as appealing as they are in Bhavabhūti's more mature play. Mālyavat is shrewd and resourceful and has a sense of better things but he falls far below Cāṇakya or Rākṣasa. Paraśurāma's great prowess is balanced by his furious temper, Vālin's magnanimity by his susceptibility to bad advice, Rāvaṇa's qualities of body and mind by his inclination to thoughtless passion but none of these characters rises above mediocrity, and there is hardly any development of character by action, hardly any fine colouring or diversity of shading. Bhavabhūti also appears to be less successful in the heroic than in the softer sentiments, it is a kind of flaunting, but really meek and bookish, heroism that he paints even in his Rāma. Moreover, action is often substituted by narration of events in long and tedious speeches. The Bharata-episode at the end of act iv and the scene between Vālin and Sugrīva are indeed ably executed, but Mālyavat's self-revelation is carried to an unnecessary and tiresome length. Like the lamentation of Mādhava, spread over an act and a half, the wordy warfare between Paraśurāma, on the one hand, and Janaka, Daśaratha, Rāma and their friends on the other, is dragged tediously through two acts. All such passages reveal the author's multifarious knowledge and rhetorical power, but they also show a distinct desire for parade and tend to hamper reality and rapidity of action, as well as effectiveness of characterisation. In all this, Bhavabhūti may have been carried away by convention, but temperamentally he appears to be too prone to over-elaboration carried out by means of description and declamation, and even if his

language in this play is often vigorous and adequate, it lacks his usual ease and grace

Even if still deficient in action, for which the theme hardly affords much scope, the *Uttara-rāma-carita* shows a much greater command of dramatic technique and characterisation [22] It is undoubtedly Bhavabhūti's masterpiece, the product, as the poet himself declares, of his mature genius, and has deservedly earned the high reputation of having equalled the dramatic masterpiece of Kālidāsa. It depicts in seven acts the later history of Rāma extending from the exile of Sītā to the final reunion, and Bhavabhūti's literary characteristics may be studied to the best advantage in this work, which reaches a high level as a drama but which undoubtedly ranks higher for its intense poetic quality Bhavabhūti derives his theme from the *Rāmāyana*, but to suit his dramatic purpose he does not, as in his earlier Rama-drama, hesitate to depart in many points from his authoritative epic original The conception, for instance, of the picture-gallery scene, derived probably from a hint supplied by Kālidāsa (*Raghu*' xiv 25), and of the invisible presence of Sītā in a spirit-form during Rāma's visit to Pañcavatī, of Rāma's meeting with Vāsanti and confession, the fight between Lava and Candraketu, the visit of Vasistha and others to Vālmīki's hermitage, and the enactment of a miniature play or masque on Rāma's later history composed by Vālmīki, are skilful details which are invented for the proper development of his dramatic theme, as well as for the suitable expression of his poetic powers Here again, Bhavabhūti's principal problem is not the creation but the adequate motivation of an already accepted story While not monotonously adhering to his orignal, he accepts for his particular dramatic purpose the epic outlines of a half-mythical and half-human legend of bygone days, which had already taken its hold on the popular imagination by its pathos and poetry, but he reshapes it freely with appropriate romantic and poetical situations, which bring out all the ideal and dramatic implications of a well known story In taking up the theme of conjugal love as a form of pure, tender and spiritual affection, ripening into an abiding passion, Bhavabhūti must have realised that its beauty and charm could be best brought out by avoiding the uncongenial realism of contemporary life and going back to the poetry and idealism of olden days It was not his purpose to draw the figures on his canvas on the generous and heroic scale of

22 A detailed appreciative study of Bhavabhūti's dramatic art and technique will be found in Belvalkar's introduction to the play, vol 1, pp lxxvi-lxxxv

the Epic, but he wanted to add to the ancient tale an intensity of human feeling, which should transform an old-world legend into one of everyday experience, the story of high ideals into one of vivid reality.

In this drama Bhavabhūti idealises conjugal love through the chastening influence of sorrow, and he does this in a way which is unparalleled in Sanskrit, or perhaps in any literature. There are indeed some charming pictures of domestic happiness in Indian literature, but the causes, both social and religious, which lowered women in public estimation by depriving them of their early freedom and dignity, naturally hindered the evolution of a free conjugal relation. It is conceivable that the larger and more heterogenous group comprising the family in ancient India may have also hampered its growth, for a girl left her father's home to enter the home, not of her husband, but of her father-in-law, and the husband is often merely one of the factors of the big family. Wedded love was indeed highly prized, but ordinary marriages were perhaps often prompted by motives of convenience, among which must be reckoned the necessity of having a son for religious purposes, and self-choice of husband was almost entirely confined to the Epics, being forbidden by the customary Smrtis, even if permitted by the Kāma-śāstra. The Aśokan edicts, though now and then didactic on family relations, are silent on conjugal life. Buddhism brought greater freedom to women, but the Epics, as well as the Dharma-śāstras, are full of utilitarian precepts—not merely priestly generalisations—regarding marriage, and domestic happiness is still summed up in the loyalty of a fruitful, patient and thrifty wife. Moreover, the existence of polygamy, which was perhaps the Dharma more of the higher classes than of the people in general, rendered the position of the wife difficult and sometimes less than real. When, like queen Dhāriṇī, she finds herself treated by her husband with scant grace and deserted for a younger rival, it becomes useless for her to show her temper and jealousy like Irāvatī, she can, if she is shrewd and discreet, only say pathetically *na me eso macchara-rassa kālo* ('this is not for me a time for jealousy'), and all that is possible for her to do is to make the best of a bad job by falling back upon her own sense of dignity and pride. The author of the *Mrcchakatika* discreetly keeps Cārudatta's wife in the background, on the very rare occasions in which she does appear, we have just a sad and dignified picture, in which her gentleness and generosity are not feigned indeed but are apparently virtues made of helpless necessity.

It is natural, therefore, that even from antiquity Indian opinion represents the god of love as different from the deities who preside over marriage and fertility. No doubt, restrictions placed on the physical gratification of love, except in marriage, are due not only to moral and social necessity, but they also indicate a tendency which harmonises with the biological law that mating is the final cause of love. But in a society where mating was also a religious duty and where conjugal relation was moulded by a peculiar social evolution, an errant tendency was inevitable, and many writers have not hesitated to express a startingly heterodox view There are indeed genuine praises of the wife, but one poet, for instance, represents married life as a prison-house, and the usual note is that of the glorification of the love-union permitted by Kāma-śāstra It is not difficult to understand a similar attitude, occasionally, on the part of the wife Apart from the numberless tales of naughty and cunning wife's intrigues in Sanskrit folk-tale, a more refined sentiment is expressed by one woman-poet who is impatient with the perfect spouse, who has all the virtues of a stage-hero, but none of a lover, which alone can make her happiness perfect Free and continuous courtship is thus recognised as a stimulus of permanent love Married love can remain unspoiled by time and familiarity and retain its romance and beauty only where there is enough of that idealism which can make such continuous courtship possible and redeem it from the debasing contact of the littleness of life's daily experience. In such a discouraging atmosphere, where the tendency to take the marriage-vow lightly was not uncommon, Bhavabhūti had the courage to represent conjugal love as a serious and abiding human passion, as a blend of sex-feeling, parent-feeling and comradeship, or as expressed in the words of the wise Kāmandakī (vi 18) "Know, my dear children, that to a wife her husband and to a husband his lawful wife, are, each to each, the dearest of friends, the sum-total of relationships, the completeness of desire, the perfection of treasures, even life itself" The implications, both real and ideal, of such love, are best brought out, in the idea of our poet, not by an invented plot, nor by a story based on the narrow realism of actual life, but by the idealism, pathos and poetry of an intensely human legend of the past, round which a hundred romantic associations have already gathered.

Bhavabhūti's Rāma and Sītā are from the beginning man and woman of more strenuous and deeper experience than Duṣyanta and his woodland love. In the opening act, which has been praised so often and which strikes

the keynote of the drama, the newly crowned king of Ayodhyā, with his beloved spouse and his ever faithful brother, is looking over pictures which recall the dear memory of their past sorrow This scene, which is made the occasion for the tender and deep attachment of Rāma and Sītā to show itself, also heightens by contrast the grief of separation which immediately follows There is a fine note of tragic irony not only in Rāma's assurance that such a separation as they had suffered would never happen again, in Lakṣmaṇa's inadvertant allusion to the fire-ordeal and Rāma's instant declaration of his disbelief in baseless rumours, but also in Sītā's passionate clinging to the memories of past joy and sorrow on the verge of a still more cruel fate The blow comes just at a moment when the tired timid and confiding Sītā falls asleep on the arms of her husband, who is lost in his own thoughts of love When the cup of happiness, full to the brim, was raised to his lips it was dashed off from Rāma's hand, and one can understand the sentimental breakdown which immediately follows in the conflict between his love and his stern sense of kingly duty With the responsibilities of the state newly laid on his shoulders, Rāma is perhaps more self-exacting than is right or just to himself and his beloved, but having abandoned the faithful and dear wife, who was his constant companion ever since childhood his suffering knows no bounds Both his royal and personal pride is deeply wounded by the thought that such an unthinkable stain should attach to the purity of his great love and to the purity of the royal name he bears

The scene of the next two acts is laid in the old familiar surroundings of Daṇḍaka and Pañcavatī, which Rāma revisits Twelve years have elapsed, his grief has mellowed down but he is still loyal and devoted to the memory of his banished wife The sorrow, which has become deep-seated, is made alive with the recollection of their early experience of married love in these forests, where even in exile they had been happy The situation is dramatically heightened by making the pale, sorrowing but resigned Sītā appear in a spirit-form, unseen by mortals, and become an unwilling, but happy, listener to the confessions which her husband makes unknowingly to Vāsantī of his great love and fidelity Sītā's resentment is real and reasonable, and she is still mystified as to why Rāma abandoned her She comes on the scene with despair and resignation in her heart, but it is not for her to sit in judgment on his conduct She appears as the true woman and loving wife which she has not ceased to be, and is willing to be convinced. Unknown to each other, the reconciliation of hearts is now complete, and

with an admirable delicacy of touch the dramatist describes her gradual, but generous, surrender to the proof that, though harsh, he deeply loves her and has suffered no less. When Vāsantī, who cannot yet take kindly to Rāma, reproves him on his heartless act to his wife in a half-finished, but bitter, speech (iii 26) and denounces him in her righteous wrath, her pitiless words aggravate his grief, but the unseen Sītā, with a characteristic want of logic but with the true instinct of a loving heart, now defends her husband and resents all disparagement from outside. The denouement of reunion is only a logical development of this scene, and the recognition scene in act vi in which Bhavabhūti, like Kālidāsa, represents the offspring as the crown of wedded love, forms a natural psychological climax. By removing the inevitable tragedy of the original story, Bhavabhūti runs the risk of weakening the artistic effect of his drama, but the denouement of happy ending is not here a mere observance of convention, brought about in a forced way. It is naturally developed by rehandling the entire theme and creating new situations, and no other conclusion is possible from the poet's skilful readjustment of motives and incidents. It is a drama in which the tragic climax occurs, with the sorrow and separation, at the beginning, and it requires a considerable mastery of the dramatic art to convert it from a real tragedy into a real comedy of happiness and reunion. It cannot be said that Bhavabhūti does not succeed.

Bhavabhūti praises himself for his "mastery of speech" and claims merit for felicity and richness of expression as well as for depth of meaning, and the praise that he arrogates for himself is not undeserved. The qualities in which he excels are his power of vivid and often rugged, or even grotesque, description, the nobility and earnestness of his conception, a genuine emotional tone, and a love for all that is deep and poignant, as well as grand and awe-inspiring, in life and nature. Contrasted with Kālidāsa, however, he lacks polish and fastidious technical finish but, as we have already said,[23] his tendency was not towards the ornate and the finical but towards the grotesque and the rugged, not towards reserve but towards abandon. This would explain, to a certain extent, why his so-called dramas are in reality dramatic poems, and his plot is, at least in his earlier plays, a string of incidents or pictures without any real unity. Bhavabhūti cannot write in the lighter vein, but takes his subject too seriously, he has no humour, but

23 See *IHQ* xvi, 1940, pp 203-4

enough of dramatic irony, he can hardly attain perfect artistic aloofness, but too often merges himself in his subject, he has more poetic feeling than poetic art

His *Uttara-rāma-carita* shows indeed considerable dramatic skill, but it appeals more as an exceedingly human story of love and suffering, steeped in the charm of poetic sentiment It is chiefly in this that its merit lies The story is drawn from the Epic, but the picture is far more homely, far more real, the emotion is far more earnest than is usual in Sanskrit love-poetry Bhavabhūti is not concerned with romantic and light-hearted intrigues, nor does his theme in spite of the introduction of the supernatural, consist of the treatment of a legendary subject removed from the reality of common experience. His delineation of love as an emotion is finely spiritual and yet intensely human His descriptions are marked by an extraordinary realism of sensation and vividness of touch While preserving the essential ideality of a theme, which was cherished through ages as an elevated conception, he invests it with a higher poetical naturalness, based on the genuine emotions of common manhood and womanhood In this he vies successfully with Kālidāsa

It is natural, therefore, that in Indian estimation Bhavabhūti should rank next to Kālidāsa as a poet, if not as a dramatist To be judged by this lofty standard is itself a virtual acknowledgment of high merit, and it is not an altogether unjust estimate Bhavabhūti's shortcomings are those of an exuberant poetic mind, lacking the much-desired restraint of an artist, and they are manifest on the surface, but he has excellences which place him very high As a dramatist he does not certainly lack power, but perhaps he is not as successful as Kālidāsa, much less than Śūdraka or Viśākhadatta His tendency to exaggerate, to strain deliberately after effect and accumulate series of them, to indulge in sentimental prolixity, to take things too earnestly and identify himself with them, are faults which are fatal to a good dramatist. His lack of humour, which is partially responsible for these aberrations, does not indicate a disorganised mind, but it is perhaps a temperamental insufficiency, which makes his mind too elevated and inelastic to appreciate fully the lighter side of life and embrace in broad and sparkling sympathy all kinds of men and things He is too profoundly interested in his characters and their sentiments to care for action as such In a narrative we are told what occurs, in a drama we see the actual occurrence, in Bhavabhūti's plays, comparatively little happens, though much is said And yet he does

not excel in mere narrative. His genius is in its essence lyrical, implying a development of feeling and reflection at the expense of action, it is too often so in principle, even when it is not so in form He cannot project himself properly into his characters, he is too personal to be entirely self-effacing, too impetuous to be smooth and even. Bhavabhūti the man, as well as Bhavabhūti the poet, is indeed not a shadowy figure, but lives vividly in his works, he is one of the few charmingly egoistic authors in Sanskrit, who seldom loses sight of himself, but permeates his writings (even though they are dramas) with the flavour of a rugged but lovable personality. It is not surprising, therefore, that his emotions carry him away, often further than the limits of art His sentiment becomes sentimentality, and his pathos the spectacular sensibility of the man of feeling rather than the poignant rush of tragic sorrow He is a master of aggravated pathos rather than of heroic agony He does not condense a world of emotion in one terse pregnant phrase of concentrated passion, but dilutes the strength of the poetic nucleus by diffusing it into graceful and sonorous periods Perhaps popular taste did not disapprove of such naked wallowing in the pathetic, and very few Sanskrit poets, in accordance with the accepted theory of sentiment, would resist the opportunity of a free outpouring in sentimental verse and prose But these are not mere concessions to the groundlings, nor is theory not emphatic in the sound view that sentiments should be suggested rather than expressed The unauthorised practice of wordy emphasis springs rather from an excess of sensibility inherent in Bhavabhūti's poetic imagination, which is never tired by unchartered freedom Leaving aside his Mādhava, even his Rāma's prolonged lamentations, tears and faintings, however poetic, are overdone and become undignified

There can be no denying these facts, which are obvious even to a superficial reader of Bhavabhūti's plays Bhavabhūti is fortunate in having good editors and apologists,—the kindred spirits for whom he cried in his life-time, but his merits are also too obvious to require a justification of his demerits It is not of much consequence if his dramas, judged by a strict standard, are really dramatic poems, it is the type in which Bhavabhūti excels, and he should be judged by what he actually aims at and achieves. Other dramatists may exhibit a greater degree of some characteristic quality, but it is scarcely too much to say that none among the successors of Kālidāsa surpasses Bhavabhūti in pure poetic feeling It is not necessary to prove it by quoting instances of his mastery of poetical imagery, thought and

expression in every variety of melting modulation or sounding pomp, the spirit of poetry, quite indefinable but easily perceivable, pervades all his writings in their theme and treatment, and more especially, in the charming series of lyric stanzas which Bhavabhūti alone could write If he is a poet of human passion, having a strong perception of the nobility of human character and its deeply felt impulses and emotions, he is no less a lover of the overwhelming grandeur of nature, enthroned in the solitude of dense forests, sounding cataracts and lofty mountains It is not often that his passionate humanism and naturalism yield to mere academicism. If he expresses his sensations with a painful and disturbing intensity[24] and often strays into the rugged and the formless (or, shall we say, evolves his own form of art and expression?), he thereby drinks deep at the very fountain of life, he realises the man's joy even if he loses the artist's serenity. His unevenness and inequality, even his verbosity and slovenliness, are thus explicable. Bhavabhūti suffers from the excess of his qualities, but the qualities are those of a great, but powerfully sensitive, poetic mind. His contemporaries called him Śrīkantha "Divine Throat", perhaps in homage to his divine music, but since it is also the name of the rugged and powerful deity, who swallowed poison in lieu of nectar, the epithet is justified by Bhavabhūti's mastery of overmastering passion, by his nervous energy and terrible sincerity, which scorn mere polish and finish, but speak, with palpitating warmth, of things lying at the very core of his being

S K De

24 In his description of primal sensations Bhavabhūti is as often direct as he is uncouth, but terribly appropriate, in his selection of words The word *grāvan* for instance, in his famous line, describing Rāma's poignant sorrow (*Uttara*° i 28), is not dainty like Kālidāsa's *upala*, but it cannot be substituted for a weaker word His jagged description of the Dandaka forest, though often bizarre and even grotesque, can be contrasted in this respect to the refined charm of Kālidāsa's picture of the Himalayas Bhavabhūti is one of the few Sanskrit poets who can describe a sensation in its intense vividness, without investing it with an ideal glamour or domesticating it Witness, for instance his description of the sensation of touch in *Uttara*° i 35, *Mālati*° vi 12 and *Mahāvīra*° ii 22 He is not gross nor sensual, but it is not correct to say that his ideas and objects are spiritually rarefied; on the contrary, the touch of sensuousness is too warmly conspicuous to be ignored The comparison with the sublimely academic Milton and the coldly polished Thomas Gray, suggested by Lanman, is barely justifiable.

Nālandā Seals of Budhagupta and Viṣṇugupta

The Gupta seals found in the excavations of Monastery I at Nālandā have been known to scholars from a long time, but the two most important of them have only been recently published One is the seal of Visnugupta and has been edited by Mr Krishna Deva in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVI, p 235, while the other belongs to Budhagupta and appears along with other seals and inscriptions of Nālandā in Dr Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Materials* (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No 66) The texts of both the seals, though fragmentary, can be restored almost in full by a reference to the other seals of the dynasty While Mr. Krishna Deva has conclusively shown that Viṣṇugupta Candrāditya was the son of Kumāragupta, the grandson of Narasimhagupta and the great grandson of Pūrugupta,[1] the seal of Budhagupta has not as yet been fully studied The text of the seal,[2] based on a scrutiny of the original, is reproduced below, and it will be seen that it differs from Dr Sastri's text in some minor details

Line 1 [Sarva-rāj-occhettuh prthivyām = apratirathasya mahārāja]* -śrī-GUPTA-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-GHAṬOTKA-

Line 2 [CA-pauttrasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-CANDRAGUPTA-puttrasya Licchha]*vi-dauhittrasya mahādevyām Kumāradevyām = utpanna-

Line 3 [sya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-SAMUDRAGUPTAsya puttras = tat-pari]*grhīto mahādevyām Dattadevyām = utpannah svayam

Line 4 [c = āpratirathah parama-bhāgavato mahārājādhirāja-śrī]* -CANDRAGUPTAs = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ā[nudhyāto]

Line 5 [mahādevyām Dhruvadevyām = utpanno mahārājādhirāja]*-śrī-KUMĀRAGUPTAs = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ā-

1 Regarding this form of the name hitherto known as Puragupta, see *Ep Ind*, vol XXVI, p 236

2 The seal is at present deposited in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā and bears the register number 1-660 Only a fragment of the seal was recovered, more than half of its left portion having been entirely lost The restored portion at the beginning of each line has been enclosed within double brackets and marked by asterisks The script is of the regular Gupta variety, but an important point worthy of notice is the southern form of the letter *m* Orthographically the duplication of *t* in the words *pauttra* (l 1) and *puttra* (l 4) may be mentioned

Line 6 [nudhyāto mahādevyām = Anantadevyām = utpanno ma]*-hārājādhirāja-śrī-PŪRUGUTPA(PTA)s = ta-

Line 7 [sya puttras = tat-pād-ānudhyāto mahādevyām]* [Candra]-devyām = utpannaḥ

Line 8 [parama-bhāgavato mahārājādhirāja]* -śrī-BUDHA-GUPTAH.

It will be seen that line 1 contains the names of Gupta and Ghatotkaca, the missing portions of lines 2 and 3 of Candragupta [I] and Samudragupta respectively, line 4 of Candragupta [II], line 5 of Kumāragupta, line 6 of Pūrugupta and line 8 of Budhagupta The length of the missing portions of lines 7 and 8 is just sufficient to contain the usual attributes of the author of the seal, so that there is no chance of a ruler intervening between Pūrugupta and Budhagupta having been mentioned in the lost portions The seal therefore leaves absolutely no doubt about the fact that *Budhagupta was the son of Pūrugupta* The name of the mother of Budhagupta occurring at the beginning of the extant portion of line 7 is not clearly legible, it consists of four letters, the first of which is either *ca* or *va* and the second is certainly *n* with some subscript mark or letter, the third and fourth letters clearly read *devyām* It is therefore highly probable that the name was Candradevī, which is already known from other seals to have been the name of the queen of Pūrugupta.[3] The two Nālandā seals therefore enable us to frame the following genealogical table of the successors of Pūrugupta

Pūrugupta

Narasimhagupta — Budhagupta

Narasimhagupta
Kumāragupta II
Visnugupta

This genealogy leaves us with the fact that between A.D 467, the last known date of Skandagupta, and A D 476, the earliest date of Budhagupta, four generations of rulers, viz., Pūrugupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Visnugupta held the throne. This is indeed a remarkable historical phenomenon, but it is more likely that Visnugupta followed and not preceded Budhagupta The following consideration shows that at the time of the death of his father Kumāragupta some time before

A.D. 476 Visnugupta could have been only a child. Skandagupta, who came to the throne in A D 455 and became the hero of many exploits, could not have been a very old man at the time of his accession, assuming that he was 55 years of age, we get *c* 400 as the year of his birth. Pūrugupta may have been born a few years later, say 403.[4] Allowing a period of 22 to 25 years for each generation, we get A.D 469 to 478 (average 473-74) as the date of birth of Visnugupta It appears somewhat unlikely that the child Visnugupta came to the throne directly after his father as a full-fledged *mahārājādhirāja* over a wide empire and issued seals and coins within a year or two of his rule I therefore regard it more probable that Kumāragupta II was succeeded by his uncle Budhagupta in *c* A D 476 and not by his minor son The latter in that case must have got the throne some time after A.D 495, the last known date of Budhagupta

The above genealogy is based on the theory first propounded by Mr Pannalal[5] and now accepted by many other scholars that the Kumāragupta mentioned in the Sārnāth inscription of A D 473[6] and the homonymous grandson of Pūrugupta known from the Bhitari seal[7] (which is now confirmed in every detail by some Nālandā seals) are identical Numismatic evidence supports this theory, as the Gupta series of coins makes us acquainted only with two Kumāraguptas A probable objection against this genealogy is that it is too constricted For example, Skandagupta could well have been less than 55 years of age when he came to the throne, or the average length of each generation might have been longer than has been assumed here, in either of which case Visnugupta must have been born much after A.D. 473-74.

At the same time, the possibility of the Kumāraguptas of the Sārnāth inscription and the Bhitari and Nālandā seals being two separate individuals is not precluded by any definite evidence, and if this is conceded to, an alternative genealogy may be suggested [8]

4 It has been suggested that Pūrugupta was the elder brother and came to the throne earlier than Skandagupta (*IHQ*, vol IX, p 787, n 13), which is not very probable

5 *Hindustan Review*, January, 1918

6 *Arch Surv India, An Rep*, 1914-15, p 124

7 *JASB*, vol LVIII, pt I, p 89

8 This has been suggested to me by Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit

Pūrugupta

Kumāragupta II[9] (Sārnāth inscr., A D 473)	Budhagupta (476-95)	Narasiṃhagupta	Bhitarī and Nālandā seals
		Kumāragupta III	
		Viṣṇugupta	

This genealogy obviates the necessity of having a crowded succession between A D. 467 and 476 and also enables us to place Narasiṃhagupta (Bālāditya) in the first quarter of the sixth century and thus reconcile the story related by Hiuen Tsang about the defeat of Mihirakula by Bālāditya Which of these two genealogies is the correct one can be decided only with the discovery of fresh materials

With the restoration of Viṣṇugupta and Budhagupta to their proper places the following princes known from inscriptions and coins still remain unconnected Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya (coins,[10] Nālandā seal[11] and Gunaighar copper-plate of A D. 507[12]), Bhānugupta (Eran pillar inscription of A D. 510[13]), Prakāśāditya, Narendrāditya, Ghatotkacagupta, Jayagupta and Yaśogupta (coins) Of these Prakāśāditya must have been identical with one of the rulers already known to us, possibly with Budhagupta himself,[14] and Narendrāditya with Samācāradeva, as the letters *samā* appear on his coins[15] Vainyagupta must have been a near successor of Budhagupta, and Bhānugupta is the last Gupta ruler known to have any connexion with Central India, which soon passed to the Hūnas and then to Yaśo-

9 In this genealogy we are left in the dark about the parentage of this Kumāragupta It is not impossible that he was the son of Skandagupta, whom he directly succeeded In that case Pūrugupta may have succeeded his nephew after 473, and left the throne to his son Budhagupta after a brief reign

10 The coins ascribed to a hypothetical Candragupta III are now known to have belonged to this ruler (*IHQ*, vol IX, p 784)

11 Sastri, *loc cit*, p 67 Unfortunately the seal is so fragmentary that nothing can be made out of it about the parentage of Vainyagupta

12 *IHQ*, vol VI, p 45

13 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No 20

14 Prakāśāditya is sometimes regarded as one of the *āditya* titles of Pūrugupta on the most inconclusive datum of the Bharsar hoard of coins, which only shows that he ruled some time later than Skandagupta (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p cui)

15 *Ep Ind*, vol XVIII, p 80 This is not to suggest that Samācāradeva belonged to the Gupta line His Nālandā seal points to the contrary.

dharman, who, as is now known, originated from a well-established gubernatorial family of Daśapura. The other princes seem to have belonged to eastern India alone, where Gupta rule continued till at least A.D. 543, the date of the last set of Dāmodarpur copper-plates.[16]

We may now examine some theories which have been suggested from time to time to solve the problems of the chronology of the later Imperial Guptas. Some scholars have argued for a division of the empire between the successors of Skandagupta and Pūrugupta. Thus, Dr. R. G. Basak suggests that to the line of Skandagupta belonged Kumaragupta (II) of the Sārnāth inscription and the latter's son Budhagupta, while the line of Pūrugupta, consisting of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta (III), flourished side by side with the former line.[17] This succession must be rejected in view of the present Nālandā seals, and even the partition theory should be abandoned as it directly contradicts with what we know about the extent of Budhagupta's empire. His Sārnāth inscription of A.D. 476, unpublished Benares pillar inscription of the same date, Eran pillar inscription of A.D. 484 and Dāmodarpur copper-plates indicate that he held all that belonged to the Guptas during his time,[18] and that there was no room for any rival dynasty to rule. Of course, the existence of a large number of *mahārājas* within the empire, such as the Parivrājakas in Baghelkhand, Suraśmicandra between the Kālindī and Narmadā and Brahmadatta in Pundravardhana may indicate the gradual weakening of the central authority, but there is no ground for supposing that this was due to the rivalry between two collateral houses.

In his description of Nālandā Hiuen Tsang says that the monastic establishments at that place were enriched by the successive endowments of Śakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta and Bālāditya.[19] On the strength of this statement it has been suggested that Budhagupta was the son of

16 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 138

17 Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 78

18 There is no evidence of Gupta rule over Gujrat after Skandagupta. At the same time there is no justification for regarding Budhagupta as a ruler of Central India alone or for thinking that 'originally he was a prince of Mālava who succeeded Kumāragupta II in the north.' (*ABORI*, vol. I, p. 77). There is no direct evidence of his hold over Bihar but it is unthinkable that it belonged to a different family when he was holding the east United Provinces and Bengal.

19 Beal, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 168

Kumāragupta I who had the title of Mahendrāditya (Mahendra = Śakra)[20] With our new knowledge about the parentage of Budhagupta the proposed identifications must be rejected, it may further be asserted either the statement of Hiuen Tsang was based on hearsay and not on sound history, or else his Budhagupta should not be identified with Budhagupta of the Imperial Gupta line.

Hoernle suggested that Skandagupta and Pūrugupta were two names of the same ruler,[21] and this theory has been recently[22] revived on the strength of the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, which says that Bāla (*i e* Bālāditya) was the son of the S-initialled (*i e* Skandagupta)[23] A reconciliation between the seals which make Narasiṁhagupta (Bālāditya) the son of Pūrugupta and the *MMK* is possible only if Pūrugupta and Skandagupta were identical. Additional strength to this theory is derived from a recent suggestion that the only gold coin which was ascribed to Pūrugupta belongs in reality to Budhagupta[24] It is impossible to be sure about this new ascription, especially as R D Banerji assured us that there are other coins besides the one known to Allan on which the name *Pura* is clearly written[25] The numismatic evidence is therefore inconclusive at present, and the utterly confused accounts of the *MMK* cannot be relied upon for proving any important fact of Gupta history.

Mention may in conclusion be made of the occurrence of isolated single letters on the coins of some Gupta rulers, as they have been brought into prominence in some recent writings with the assumption that they represent the initial letters of the secondary names of the respective rulers. While not denying this possibility, I am inclined to think that all such letters should be viewed as a whole before we can be definite about their significance. It is only in the case of the coins of the two Kumāraguptas that we can be sure that the letters *śrī-ku* or *ku* represents the initials of their primary names, but the analogy cannot be pushed further in view of the fact that while these letters appear in a prominent place on the coins, *viz* below the left arm of the effigy of the king, in other cases they appear inconspicuously between the feet of the king and in one case between the

20 Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed, p 503, Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, p 265

21 *JRAS*, 1909, p 102

22 *Ep Ind*, vol XXVI, p 236

23 Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p 48 of the Sanskrit text

24 *Indian Culture*, vol I, p 691

25 *ABORI*, vol I, p 73

legs of the horse carrying the king. To this category belong the *ja* and *bha* on the coins of Skandagupta, *go*[26] on those of Narasiṃhagupta, *go* and *ja* on those of Kumāragupta Kramāditya, *bhā* on those of Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya, *u* or *ru* on those of Prakāśāditya and of Viṣṇugupta Candrāditya, and *ca* and *dha* on those of Narendrāditya. It may be doubted if all these letters can be regarded as the initials of secondary royal names, especially as most of them appear on the coins of more than one ruler, at any rate, other possible explanations, such as their being mint-marks or initials of the artists who sank the coin-dies, need not be lost sight of Of the Gupta kings only Candragupta II is definitely known to have had a second 'favourite' name Devarāja or Devagupta, and it is noteworthy that the letter *de* does not appear on his coins. On the assumption that most of the Gupta rulers had more than one name, many identifications have been proposed from time to time, but they are all based on inconclusive data and are in some cases too daring, serving only to confuse the issues

A. Ghosh

26 *Indian Culture*, vol V, p 428, n 4

The Second Struggle of Bhīma and his friend Hari in the Rāmacaritam

In the excellent edition of the *Rāmacaritam* published by the Varendra Research Society, under the joint editorship of Dr. R C Majumdar, Dr R. G. Basak and Mr N G. Banerji, there are a few points wh'ch require reconsideration. In this paper, I propose to discuss one of these points, viz, the incident of eluding the vigilance of his captors by Bhīma in captivity,[1] the rally of his forces by his friend Hari, and the second struggle with Rāmapāla put in by Hari with the help of the rallied forces of Bhīma For this is the course of events, as made out by the learned editors of the new edition of the *Rāmacaritam*

The story of Bhīma's eluding the vigilance of his captors is a contribution by the present editors The previous scholars made the episode out in the following manner ·—

Mm H P Śāstrī, the discoverer and first editor of the *Rāmacaritam* in his Intro. p. 14 writes —

> "The allied army took Bhima a captive while riding on his elephant in the battle-field He was placed in charge of Vittapāla who showed him all hospitality and treated him very kindly
>
> But Hari, a friend of Bhima, rallied the scattered Kaivartta army and advanced to fight It was a well-contested battle in which both sides lost much Rāmapala's son contested every inch of ground and established his power Hari at last found himself powerless, was captured, and led to the place of execution Bhima, too, seems to have been put to the sword'

This will show that no eluding by Bhīma of the vigilance of his captors was understood and brought out by Śāstrī. He takes Hari to be a friend of Bhīma and describes his rally of the routed Kaivartta army, the second stand of the partisans of Bhīma, capture and execution of Hari, as well as of Bhīma. We shall see later on that none of these statements can be supported from the text

Mr. R D Banerji states in his *Palas of Bengal*, p 91 —

> "Bhima was captured on the back of an elephant Bhima's army most probably dispersed on the capture of their leader and Rāmapāla seems to have obtained an easy victory Bhima remained a captive and was placed in charge of a

1 Pandit Ayodhyānāth Vidyāvinoda, in his edition of the *Rāmacaritam* makes this out into a flight of Bhima from captivity His edition, p 69

certain Vittapāla The scattered forces of Bhima were rallied by one of his friends named Hari In the ensuing battle, Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground and at last succeeded in defeating the Kaivarttas Hari was at last deprived of his forces, captured and executed with Bhima"

It is to be noted that Banerji's version is entirely based on that of Śāstrī

Now let us see how Dr Majumdar understands and recapitulates this episode in his Introduction to the new edition of the *Rāmacaritam* —

"By an evil turn of destiny, Bhīma, seated on his elephant, was taken prisoner, (II 17, 20) This decided the fate of the battle, Bhima's army fled and his camp was plundered by the unrestrained soldiers of Rāmapāla . Ramapāla showed great consideration towards his captured adversary He himself helped Bhīma to get down from his elephant (II 28) and placed the illustrious prisoner in charge of his son Vittapāla, who showed all hospitality and kindness to the fallen foe." (II 36)

Dr Majumdar then goes on to say that the commentary found with the text of the *Rāmacaritam* abruptly ends here This is incorrect, because the commentary ends with II 35 and not with II 36 From verse 36 of chap. II, the editors had to prepare their own commentary, and base their translations on it The following presentation of the course of subsequent events, therefore, is based upon the interpretation of the editors themselves —

"The verse which refers to the hospitality of Vittapāla to Bhima also darkly hints that the royal captive did some act by eluding the vigilance of his enemies, which caused rejoicings to *Arkabhu* This word is not clear and the only possible interpretation we can offer is to take it as "brother's son" Perhaps Bhīma organised some sort of resistance to Rāmapāla by sending secretly from his prison messages to his allies For in the next verse, we are told that *his* friend Hari rallied his forces and blockaded those of Ramapāla The word *Arka-bhu* might refer to Hari and he may be the brother's son of Bhima But this is a pure conjecture for the present and other possible identifications of Hari will be discussed later

"Hari put up a valiant fight and at first scored some successes (II 38 ff) But Rāmapāla's son who was put in charge of the fight "exhausted the golden pitchers by his war-time gifts" (II 43) and *evidently managed to create some discord* between Hari and Bhima's followers, which caused obstruction to each other (II 41) Finally HARI WAS WON OVER and this sealed the fate of Bhima's army, which, it is said in II 39 was made to swell by ill-equipped soldiers"

The execution of Bhīma is next described by Dr Majumdar and he corrects Mm Śāstrī's interpretation re the fate of Hari thus —

"Far from being executed, Hari was established in a position of great influence by Rāmapāla after the battle was over (III 32) Evidence of further cordial relation

between Rāmapāla and Hari is furnished by verses III 39-40 which tell us that Rāmapāla and Hari "met together and shone for a long time in each other's close embrace in the palace" at Rāmāvati Probably the same cordiality existed also between Hari and Madanapāla (IV 37, 40)

"The subsequent treatment to Hari justifies the inference made above, that Hari was won over by Rāmapāla, or his son Vittapāla by offer of money and this defection finally shattered the resistance offered by Bhima's partisans

"The scattered references to Hari leave no doubt that he became a distinguished person of great importance and was held in great love and esteem by the Pāla kings"

From the close and long embrace of Hari and Rāmapāla, from the "love and esteem" in which Hari was held by Rāmapāla, from the enthusiastic welcome accorded to Hari by the Pāla side, immediately after the victory over Bhīma, one would be inclined to regard Hari as an old friend and partisan of Rāmapāla and not of Bhīma, because the treachery of a traitor is often utilised, but it never evokes love and esteem I wonder why this aspect of the question did not strike Dr Majumdar, that after all, Hari might have been a friend of Rāmapāla and not of Bhīma and the text needs careful re-examination before we can brand Hari as a villain and a traitor, won over by Rāmapāla's money In a subsequent footnote (p. xxxiii) Dr Majumdar says.—

"It is very tempting to identify Harivarman with Hari, an important but somewhat mysterious figure in *RC* but no definite opinion can be hazarded on this point"

Now, let us re-examine the text to see how far the interpretation of the course of events by the editors of the new edition of the *Rāmacaritam* can be supported. Up to the commented portion and verse II 36 with which the uncommented portion begins, the text needs being quoted only in translation, as there is no difference of opinion up to that point

Chapter II, Verse 20 He, Bhima, while he was seated on an elephant disgracefully panic-stricken, was captured by Rāmapāla making war, with (men) of all quarters of the earth won over to his side

Verses 21 to 27 are in eulogium of Bhima They are left out. The English translations are given from verse 28 consecutively

That enemy,—king Bhima, was helped to descend (from the back of his elephant) by him (Rāmapāla) who distributed among his successful followers jewels, treasures, after having caused jubilation by good messages to his fatherland (Varendri) reoccupied at an auspicious moment //28//.

Bhīma, whose beautiful encampment was crushed by the impact of the unrestrained soldiers of Rāmapāla, and whose elephants used the full speed of their legs as the only means of escape (from annihilation) //29//

That Bhīma who was deserted by his cavalry and had no buffaloes (for transport work) whose infantry was shaken and supremacy destroyed and whose broad face was without its beauty and hung down on accout of the extreme humiliation (lit excess) of defeat //30//

All at once, (that king Bhīma) became deprived of his territory and devoid of all constituent elements (of sovereignty,) with his eye-sight and hearing permanently impaired, who became the abode of all kinds of calamities, whose swords etc were thrown about and whose wife had no place to set her foot upon //31//

(That Bhīma) whose war by the help of elephants having flows of ichor issuing from their broad cheeks, was rendered futile and the noise of whose army went on increasing by wailings reverberating from all quarters and who trembled with fear //32//

People also saw that Bhīma with his line of vehicles and the trouble of military practice with arrows etc rendered unfruitful, afflicted in various ways, vanquished and with both his hands drooping //33//

That Bhīma was forthwith deprived of all his wealth consisting of gold, silver and jewels arranged in heaps and measured in *prasthas*, which disappeared on account of their forcible possession by merciless wanderers //34//

Thus with regard to that Bhīma, they (the warriors) now that they became paramours of the damsels of gods, *vidyādharas* and *gandharvas*, felt sad though their enjoyment was kept up by the intense love (of these celestial beauties) which they had won according to the injunction of the *śāstras*. //35//

(From the next śloka begins the originally uncommented portion, now for the first time commented on and translated by the present editors Messrs Basak, Banerji and Majumdar).

Then perforce, that person Bhīma, whose policy had attained ruin and who had got frightened, was transferred to the charge of his son Vittapāla by Rāmapāla of great prowess (or speed) //36//

The statements about Bhīma's eluding the watchfulness of his enemies, the rallying of *his* forces by his friend Hari, Hari's engaging the forces of Rāmapāla for the second time, all rest on the interpretation of the subsequent ślokas, which thus require careful re-examination

अयमातिथ्यकृतार्थोलभताभिमतं न पुण्यजनतोऽस्मात् ।
सपरिणतिरङ्गदोरीहितमस्यन् क्रमवहदर्क्कभुवः ॥३७॥

The two sanskrit scholars among the editors, viz Mr. Banerji and Dr Basak could not agree regarding the interpretation of this *śloka*, with the result that the two interpretations have been printed together. Dr.

Majumdar, the third editor has followed Banerji's interpretation and rejected that of Basak without giving any reason. These two interpretations are diametrically opposed to each other and are explained below

BOTH BASAK AND BANERJI —आतिथ्यकृतार्थः (satisfied with hospitality) अयं (this) भीमः (Bhīma) अस्मात् (from this) पुण्यजनतः (man of good deeds, i e Vittapāla, son of Rāmapāla) अभिमतं (desired object, i e his own release) न अलभत (did not receive).

(Trans) (Though) satisfied with hospitality, this Bhīma did not receive his desired object (release) from this man of good deeds—i e Vittapāla

The agreement of the translators ends here

Banerji —सपरिणतिः प्रणतिपरः (making obeisance) अङ्गदः अङ्गं ददाति य स शरणं प्रपन्न इत्यर्थस्तथाभूत. सन् (making submission physically) अरांहितमस्यो अरीणामीहितमुद्योगम अस्यन् विक्षिपन् (eluding the vigilance of his enemies) अरीहितेषु माययाङ्गार्पणादिभि विक्षेपं जनयन्नित्यर्थ. (i e by pretended submission and humility, causing misdirection to the vigilance of his enemies) अर्क्कभुव ज्येष्ठभ्रातुः सुतस्य (of the elder brother's son) कम् अवहत् मुदमकरोत् (caused pleasure to).

(Trans) Making obeisance and physical submission and thus eluding the vigilance of his enemies, (he Bhīma) caused pleasure to his elder brother's son

In a footnote, Banerji gives a second meaning of सपरिणति as परिणति परिणामः तया सह वर्त्तमानः, शुभ-परिणाम इत्यर्थः i e one having a bright future

It is not reasonable to describe a man as having a bright future when we find him cruelly executed, a few *ślokas* after

Now Dr Basak's explanation is as follows —

सपरिणतिः प्राप्तकालः (one whose day of reckoning has arrived, one whose days had drawn to a close) अङ्गदोरीहितं अङ्गानां दोषोश्च बाह्वोश्च (of the limbs and arms) ईहितं चेष्टां (movement) अस्यन् परित्यजन्नित्यर्थ. (giving up) अर्कभुवो यमस्य (of the sun-born, i e Yama, God of Death) कं सुखमवहज्जनयामास (caused pleasure) शत्रुणा पश्चाद्धन्यमानत्वादस्येत्यर्थः (Because of the fact that he will be slain by his enemies afterwards)

(Trans) Bhīma, whose days were numbered, gave up all movements of limbs and arms and thus caused pleasure to Yama

Considering the trend of the previous ślokas already quoted in translation, I am inclined to think that Dr. Basak's interpretation is by far the more reasonable one It is not reasonable to hold that a dangerous enemy like

Bhīma was allowed to elude vigilance by any means whatsoever, or to hold that the poet called him a man having a bright future In explaining the *śloka* from the point of view of Rāma, *Arkkabhū* has been explained as Sugrīva, son of the Sun-god. In the case of Rāmapāla, the word appears to be intended for Yama, another son of the Sun-god and not for a chimerical elder brother's son

We thus see that if we accept Dr. Basak's explanation, which appears to me to be the more reasonable of the two, the story of Bhīma's eluding his enemies' vigilance or his flight from captivity at once falls to the ground.

The so-called rally of the scattered forces of Bhīma by Hari, who has been taken to be a friend of Bhīma by all the previous scholars, without at all considering the possibility that he may have been a friend of Rāmapāla instead, is based, in my opinion, on a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the text. The explanation by the present editors and my own explanation are given below

अथ भीमानीकं तेन महातरसा शनैरमेयवलम् ।
समचीयत हरिसुहृदा सुविहितपरमण्डलावरोधेन ॥३८॥

Explanation in the New Edition —अथ अनन्तरं महातरसा महावलेन सुविहित परमण्डलावरोधेन सुसाधितः परमण्डलस्य शत्रुनृपमण्डलस्य अवरोधो येन स तेन हरिसुहृदा तेन प्रसिद्धेन हर्य्याह्वयेन भीमस्य सुहृदा अमेयवलम् अतुलपराक्रमं भीमानीकं भीमस्य सैन्यं शनैः समचीयत समाहृयत एकीकृतमित्यर्थः ।

Trans In the meantime, the army of Bhīma of unequalled strength was rallied gradually by Hari, the famous friend of his, who possessed great valour and who thoroughly effected a blockade to the circle of hostile chiefs

I would explain and translate the above thus —

अथ अनन्तरं महातरसा महावलेन हरिसुहृदा हर्य्याभिधानेन रामपालस्य सुहृदा सुविहित-परमण्डलावरोधेन सुसाधितः परमण्डलस्य शत्रुमण्डलस्य भीमराज्यस्य अवरोधो येन स तेन अमेयवलं अतुलपराक्रमं भीमानीकं भीमस्य सैन्यं शनै समचीयत समाहृतं वन्दीकृतमित्यर्थः ।

Trans After this (i.e after the defeat of Bhīma and scattering of his forces), the powerful army of Bhīma was gradually captured (gathered together, made his own) by Hari, the valiant friend (of Rāmapāla) who had laid well-planned siege to the kingdom of the foe (i e Bhīma)

The previous *ślokas* all describe the dire discomfiture of the army of Bhīma Thus the present śloka describes how this routed army was ultimately captured by Hari, the valiant friend of Rāmapāla, who waited on

the other side of Bhīma's forces barring their way of flight and who, like a skilful fisherman, made a catch of the entire shoal.

In explaining the *śloka* from the point of view of Rāma, the editors have quite consistently explained the term *Hari-su-hrt* as the friend monkey i.e Sugrīva, friend of Rāma. It is only reasonable to hold that the term means Hari, the friend of Rāmapāla, and not the friend of Bhīma, when the *śloka* has to be explained from the point of view of Rāmapāla

The next four *ślokas* are all descriptive of the sad plight of Bhīma's army, and there does not appear to be a single expression to mean that it was engaging the forces of Rāmapāla for the second time or that Hari had been bribed over to the side of Rāmapāla. I quote below the text, the translation by the editors and my own translation

क्षिप्तविपक्षावनिना क्षीशवलेनेर्ह्रितं महोत्साहात् ।
उन्मूलितेरितपरस्परकृतसंघट्टनागचयम् ॥३६॥

TRANS ED (Bhīma's army) which desired to be increased by ill-equipped (lit naked) soldiers, by which the land belonging to the enemy was thrown into confusion and the elephant troops in which were annihilated dashing upon one another when urged to speed

Trans by the present writer (Bhīma's army) which in its impetuosity (for flight) was perforce increased by the naked (unarmed) forces (i.e camp-followers) which had run into and thus thrown into confusion the land belonging to the opposite side, and the elephants in which had been annihilated or scattered by dashing against one another.

सम्भ्रमदङ्करक्षोभिरुचितमुरुवाजिराजिदीर्णधरम् ।
व्यस्तदशमस्तकापत्यसार्थमीरिततरोत्थितमनोरथकम् ॥४०॥

In my opinion, the editors have failed to understand the expression करक्षोभिरुचितं in the first line From the mention of वाजि or horse immediately afterwards, it should have been apparent to the editors that the poet is speaking of करी or elephants, and not of people disaffected with *Kara* or taxes. The editors explain करक्षोभिरुचित्तं thus —करक्षोभिर्णा करा राजभागधेयास्तैः क्षोभिणां जातक्षोभाणां रुचितं रुचकं मनोज्ञमिति यावत् करविक्षुब्धैर्जनैरभिनन्दितमित्यर्थः । The editors thus translate the expression as, "agreeable to people who were disaffected on account of taxation."

I would explain the expression thus —कराणां शुण्डानां क्षोभं आन्दोलनं वर्त्तमानं येषां तैः गजैः रुचितं शोभमानं i.e. having elephants, moving their trunks wildly.

The first word in the *śloka* is सम्भ्रमदं । It has been explained as भयङ्करं, terrible,—holding सम्भ्रम to mean terror I think सम्भ्रम should be explained better by taking it to mean confusion, hurry

With these two corrections, the translation by the editors is reproduced below:—

TRANS (Bhima's army) which produced confusion, which was a sight to see with elephants moving their trunks wildly, which rent the surface of the earth by its immense cavalry, which was in a chaotic condition, whose happiness was at an end, which was without a leader, whose usefulness was gone, whose mind rose up and was greatly agitated and which had no chariots

दैवेनेव जीवितमभिजिघांसुनापत्यपत्तिपटलेन ।
विहितान्योन्यप्रतिवन्धेनोपर्युपरिसम्बाधम् ॥४१॥

TRANS ED (Bhima's army) blocked up with infantry belonging to (Hari's) sons, which as if through destiny being intent on destroying lives caused obstruction to each other, now and again

Trans by the present writer (Bhīma's army) For which Destiny bent upon killing lives had ordained repeated barrages by the army of (Hari's) sons through the mutual collision (of the two armies).

N B-- Here the fact that Hari's army was barring the way of the flight of Bhīma's army is fairly clearly stated

बद्धरुधिरस्रोतोवहमवधूतकवन्धमूर्द्धचयचितम ।
कासरवाहनकवलक्षिप्तमहाशरकलापमिति ॥४२॥

Kāsara means a buffalo, and *Kāsara-vāhana* should mean Yama, whose vehicle is the buffalo Why the editors have gone out of their way to make the soldiers ride on buffaloes passes my comprehension. *Mahāśara* easily means those who wield large shafts Here also the editors have, in my opinion, missed the exact meaning by taking the expression to mean simply "large shafts" The editors' translation and my translation, therefore, differ considerably

TRANS ED (Bhima's army) in which streams of blood continued to flow, which was covered with the heads and trunks (of dead bodies shaking to and fro, the soldiers of which riding buffaloes, were hurling stupendous arrows'

Trans by the present writer (Bhīma's army) in which rivers of blood were set in motion, in which (severed) heads and trunks kept quivering and in which shooters of large shafts had been hurled into the mouth of the buffalo-vehicled god (Yama).

With this *śloka* ends the composite (कुलकम्) four *ślokas* describing

Bhīma's army. It will be evident to all scholars who will go through what has been written above, that these four *ślokas* only describe the dire distress of Bhīma's army captured by Hari and there is nothing in them to show that this rabble engaged Rāmapāla's army for the second time. Mm. Śāstri's thrilling description of a well-contested battle in which both sides lost much and in which every inch of the ground was contested, is pure imagination.

The next two *ślokas* require quoting in translation only, as there are no controversial points.

There shone the son of the blessed one (Rāmapāla) who had his Sāmantas to protect him against all the enemies put together (or to protect the world against all enemies) and who as liberal in his gifts as Karna, exhausted the golden pitchers by his wartime gifts //43//

N.B.—This very natural act of rewarding the helpers after a victory has been construed by Dr Majumdar (Intro p. xxx) as creating discord between Bhīma and Hari, by bribing Hari to win him over As brought out above, there is nothing in the text to warrant such a construction being given to the course of events.

The world-domineering power of the moral victor (Rāmapāla) attached itself even to his son; and the latter elevated by that power implanted his lustre on earth. //44//

N B —The next, two *ślokas* form a couplet(युग्म). The explanation and translation of the editors, suffer from want of lucidity, in addition to the defect of their taking Hari to be Bhīma's friend I have, therefore, to offer my own explanation and translation.

उरुतरतरसोपक्रम्योत्पाट्याकृष्टविपुलभूमिभृता ।
तदनुजगत्प्राणभुवा संपादितपरमहौषधीकेन ॥४५॥
तेन प्रतिहतमोहेन लक्षणेनारिराकलितमायः ।
निन्ये मृत्युस्थानं जेता म पराक्रमेण हरेः ॥४६॥ युग्म ॥

अन्वयमुखोव्याख्या। तदनु (Then) उरुतरतरसा (by one possessing very great prowess) **आकृष्टभूमिभृता** (by one who has attracted land-holders or kings to his own side) **जगत्प्राणभुवा** (by one who was the life of the world) **संपादितपरमहौषधीकेन** (by one who had administered the most effective remedy to his foes) **प्रतिहतमोहेन** (by one who had done away with the spell (cast by Bhīma on the people of Varendrī)) **लक्षणेन** (by one who had the auspicious marks or features) **तेन** (by that (Vittapāla)) **हरेः पराक्रमेण** (by the valour of HARI) **उपक्रम्य उत्पाट्य** (by seizing and by uprooting, i.e.

by force) जेता (one who had conquered Varendrī) स आकलितमायः अरिः (that foe, the exhibitor of spells, i.e. Bhīma) मृत्युस्थानं निन्ये (was taken to the place of execution.)

TRANSLATION. Then by him (Vittapāla) of very great valour, who had attracted kings to his own side, who was the life of the world, who had administered the most effective remedy to his enemy, who had done away with the spell (cast by Bhīma), who had auspicious marks,—the foe, the exhibitor of spells, the conqueror (of Varendrī) was taken to the execution ground by force through the prowess of Hari

The next *śloka* (47) says that Bhīma had to witness the beheading of his kinsmen and partisans with his own eyes, and the next two *ślokas* describe Bhīma done to death by numerous arrows, shouting and hurling defiance with his last breath.

This finishes chapter II and the episode of the execution of Bhīma. I hope, scholars will now see that the story of Bhīma's eluding the vigilance of his captors or his flight from captivity, and the rally of his forces by his friend Hari, the second engagement with the forces of Rāmapāla, Hari's defection through bribes and the consequent second defeat of the Kaivartta army, are all myths

The third chapter begins with a long description of Varendrī situated between the holy waters of the Karatoyā and the Ganges and the description runs up to 28 verses. Verses 29-40 are devoted to the description of the foundation and the glories of Rāmāvatī, where, incidentally it is stated (v 32) that Rāmapāla had established Hari in a position of great influence. Verses 39 and 40 have also been taken by the editors to refer to Hari, but Hari is not mentioned there by name and the expression देवौ may refer to Rāmapāla and Vittapāla

Dr. Majumdar was tempted to identify Hari with Harivarman of Vanga—(Intro xxxiii fn) but he was not prepared to hazard any definite opinion on the point. Harivarma was the maternal cousin of Mahīpala II, half-brother of Rāmapāla and it is highly probable that he would help Rāmapāla in his great undertaking of the recovery of his ancestral kingdom of Varendrī from the usurping Kaivarttas He appears to have helped Rāmapāla by investing Varendrī from the east, and by this well-planned investment (सुविहितपरमण्डलावरोध— II 38), he succeeded in placing the Kaivartta army between two fires and capturing the entire runaways. Fortunately, we have an epigraphical support for this investment of

Varendrī by the Vaṅgāla army about this period (c 1074 A D) In the Nālandā inscription of Vipula-śrī-mitra,[1] which is ascribed by the editor to the first half of the twelfth century A.D (say, 1140 A D.), Vipula-śrī-mitra says that the Guru, fourth in ascent from him, Karuṇā-śrī-mitra of Somapura (modern Pāhādpur in Rājshāhi district) was burnt to death when his house was set on fire by an army of Vaṅgāla. The Candras of Vanga were peaceful people and are not known to have taken any expedition to Varendrī. The Candras went down before aggressive Karna who appears to have put Jātavarma on the throne of Vaṅga He defied Divya, the usurper, but is not known to have undertaken any expedition against him. Hari's investment and Vaṅgāla investment therefore coincide and the conclusion is irresistible that Harivarma, king of Vaṅga, actively helped Rāmapāla by investing Varendrī from the east, in the course of which Somapura-vihāra was burnt, and by this well-planned investment, the entire army of Bhīma, already defeated and disorganised by its encounter with the army of Rāmapāla, became an easy capture for Hari, the friend of Rāmapāla

On Intro p xxxiii Dr Majumdar says —

"All that we can safely conclude is that Rāmapāla succeeded in re-asserting the supremacy of the Pālas over wide dominions and that his kingdom extended to Assam in the east and Orissa in the south His campaign in Orissa probably indicates that his authority was fully established over western Bengal He may thus be said to have ruled over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam"

I am afraid Dr Majumdar, in writing the above, failed to visualise the political condition of eastern India after the recovery of Varendrī by Rāmapāla The Varmas were in full occupation of Vanga and of probably the entire region south of the Ganges and east of the Bhāgīrathī Vijayasena, who was soon powerful enough to oust the Varmans and to lay low the successors of Rāmapāla, was fast rising into importance in Rādhā The whole of Kaliṅga, including Utkala was under the mighty Codaganga Under these circumstances, to call Rāmapāla master of the whole of Eastern India, appears to be a rather lamentable non-appreciation of the actual facts

Vijayasena, in his Deopādā inscription claims to have given दिव्यभुवः i e lands of Divya to प्रतिक्षितिभृत, i.e. his rival king, and accepted from him

1 *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp 97 ff

other lands in return. This is a clear hint of Vijayasena's having helped Rāmapāla in his recovery of Varendrī. Now let us take note of the following two consecutive *ślokas* in chapter III of the *Rāmacaritam*

> यो वाजिनामधिभुवा[1] नागावलिसंयतेरितस्कन्धः ।
> कृतसाहायकविधिना देवः[2] प्रियकारिणाप्रीणि ॥४६॥
> तस्य जितकामरूपादिविषयविनिवृत्त[3]मानसंपाद्यः ।
> महिमानमाप[4] न नृपो यतमानस्य प्रजाभिरक्षार्थम् ॥४७॥

[*Notes* (1) "अश्वपति, गजपतिः, नरपतिः, राजत्रयाधिपतिः" इत्यते सेनराजानामुपाधयः

(2) Ms देनः

(3) Ms विनिवृत्तः

(4) H S मायन । His interpretation of मायन as a proper name is quite untenable]

It will be observed that R G B in the first footnote is thinking of the Sena king. All the same, he has failed to see सेनः in देनः of the second footnote and has corrected it to देवः । I am of opinion that this is a reference to Vijayasena's having helped Rāmapāla by his cavalry force and, as in the case of विनिवृत्त. in the 3rd footnote corrected to विनिवृत्त in the text, देनः has to be corrected to देन and then further corrected to सेन instead of देवः । This will make the text read—

सेनप्रियकारिणाप्रीणि ॥

I would explain śloka 46 thus —नागावलिसंयत=ईरित—स्कन्धः (one, who could send forward to battle a solid division of elephant forces) यः (that king Rāmapāla) वाजिनामधिभुवा (by the master of cavalry) कृतसहायकविधिना[1] (by one whose policy was to help) सेनप्रियकारिणा (by the Sena who was bent on doing pleasing deeds) अप्रीणि (was pleased, propitiated)

Trans That king (Rāmapāla) who had the power to send to battle an organised division of elephant forces was propitiated by the Sena bent on pleasing, whose policy was to help (Rāmapāla) and who was a master of the Cavalry //46//

In the next *śloka* a certain king is referred to who had conquered Kāmarūpa and other regions and whom Rāmapāla refrained from checkmating for fear of again throwing his kingdom into convulsion. The editors ask in the commentary if he is the same king described as प्रियकारी in the previous śloka. To me he appears to be the सेनप्रियकारी, who had helped Rāmapāla, probably by lending cavalry, which Rāmapāla evidently lacked. The fact that he was allowed to proceed to Kāmarūpa and conquer the country practically marching over the back of Rāmapāla, and Rāmapāla

had to keep quiet all the same for fear of again throwing his kingdom into convulsion so soon, shows the growing power of Vijaya Sena, for the king can be nobody else.

The translation of this śloka by the editors is quoted below

"*Did not the king (the great ally of Rāmapāla) who had returned from Kāmarūpa and other countries conquered by him and as such was a fit recepient of honours,—receive honours from that king (Rāmapāla) who restrained pride for the protection of his subjects in every quarter?*" //47//

One point remains to be cleared up Śloka 44 of Chapter III is as follows —

स्वपरित्राणनिमित्तं पत्या यः प्राग्दिशीयेन ।
वरवारणेन च निजस्यन्दनदानेन वर्म्मणाराधि ॥

Now, if Harivarma was the man who had helped Rāmapāla so much to recover Varendrī, and was thus in the friendliest of terms with Rāmapāla, why should he be so anxious for his own safety and eager to propitiate Rāmapāla. The answer is simple In the years that were spent after the recovery of Varendrī, in the foundation of Rāmāvatī provided with big tanks with mountain-like banks, and the consolidation of the disturbed kingdom, Harivarma had died and Vanga had passed to his younger brother Sāmalavarma From the Vajrayoginī plate of Sāmalavarma, this transfer of succession to a collateral appears to have been accompanied by some war or violence.[1] It was natural, therefore, that Sāmalavarma, the new king of Vaṅga, should be anxious to propitiate such an intimate friend of his brother Harivarma, as Rāmapāla was

Though I have been constrained to criticise a part of the new edition of the *Rāmacaritam*, I think I echo the sentiment of all scholars when I say that this monument of patience, industry and scholarship has earned for the editors of the publication ever-lasting gratitude of all interested in archaeology. The present discussion has been rendered possible only because of the publication of the edition.

N. K Bhattasali

1 *Bhāratavarsa*, Kārttika, 1340 B S

Pīpardūlā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra of Śarabhapura

The interesting copper-plate charter discussed in the following pages belongs to a family of Brāhmanas who are the land-holders of the village of Pīpardūlā At present it is with Mr Brajvilas Prasad Dube, Mālguzār of Pīpardūlā, who kindly allowed the Mahakosala Historical Society to prepare a number of rubbings of the plates and the seal for the purpose of publication [1] The village of Pīpardūlā lies about 20 miles from Ṭhākurdiyā, the findspot of a grant of Pravararāja, and is only a few miles from the western borders of the Sārangarh State, Chhattisgarh, C P It was formerly within the jurisdiction of the Bilaspur Dist, but now forms part of the Raipur Dist., C P

The Pīpardūlā charter is engraved on three copper-plates each measuring about $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides Each side of the plates contains five lines of writing About one inch from the left margin and in the third line of writing, the plates have a roundish hole for the ring on which they are strung The ends of the ring, which has not been cut out, are secured in a circular SEAL about $2\frac{4}{5}''$ in diameter. The seal resembles those found with the charters of the so-called Śarabhapura kings. It is demarcated into two halves by two horizontal lines in the middle The upper part contains the representation of Gajalakṣmī, with Lakṣmī standing to full front, so often described by scholars discussing the records of the rulers of the Śarabhapura dynasty, the lower half of the seal is occu-

1 In February, 1943, the plates were shown to Mr Moolal, nephew of Pandit L P Pandeya, who happened to visit the village in course of an exploration tour on behalf of the Mahakosala Historical Society [For Mahākosala as the name of South Kosala, however, see Sircar, *Ind Cult*, VIII, p 57] They were brought to Pandit Pandeya who prepared a transcript (cf *Hitavāda* Nagpur, March 10, 1943) and several sets of rubbings of the plates and the seal Sircar agreed to edit the record jointly with Pandit Pandeya at the latter's request About the end of March, 1943, the rubbings were sent to Sircar together with the Pandit's transcript and his notes such as those on the discovery of the grant and on the geographical names occurring in the record In writing the paper, Sircar had thus to rely on the rubbings supplied by Pandit Pandeya; he had no opportunity of examining the original plates

pied by a verse referring to the king who issued the charter The plates are in a satisfactory state of preservation

The CHARACTERS are of the box-headed variety of the so-called Central Indian alphabet as found in other records of the Śarabhapura kings They are less elongated and less angular, and are therefore earlier in date, than those employed in the known records of the later members of the Śarbhapura family Medial ī is of the older type and is not represented by a dot in the circle (which indicates medial i) as in the Āraṅg grant of Jayarāja and the Ṭhākurdiyā grant of Pravararāja The earlier form of j occurs occasionally (cf ll. 5, 15). Medial ā in mā in the word *pravarddhamāna* (l 19) and in *nā* in the word *brāhmanā*" (l 2) is not of the usual type as in the other cases of *mā* and *nā* Of the initial vowels *ā*, *i*, *u* and *e* are found in the inscription

The LANGUAGE is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the legend on the seal and the two imprecatory verses about the end of the charter, the record is entirely written in prose There is Prakritism in some words, e g, in the name Svāmippa (Sanskrit *Svāmyātman*, cf South Indian names like Venkatappa) The style is simpler than that of other records of the family and indicates an early date As regards ORTHOGRAPHY, a consonant with r is often doubled The rules of *Sandhi* are violated in *vājasaneya-ātreya*' (l 5).

The legend on the seal says that the charter belongs to king Narendra who was the son of Śarabha and who conquered the earth with his own sword The charter was issued from Śarabhapura by *Mahārāja* Narendra on *the 10th day of Mārgaśira in the third year* of his reign It is interesting that the charter does not record any grant of the king himself, but is only the confirmation of a grant made by a person named Rāhudeva [2] It is an order to the agriculturist householders residing at the village of Śarkarāpadraka in the *bhoga* called Nandapura They are informed that the village is granted by Rāhudeva in favour of a Brāhmana named Svāmippa and that the king sanctioned the grant by making the village *acāta-bhata-prāveśya* (not to be entered by regular and irregular troops) [3] The agriculturists are therefore enjoined to pay regularly their periodical dues (*pratyāya*, revenue)

2 Cf the inscriptions of Sudevarāja, *MHS Papers*, II, p 40 ff

3 The passage has been differently interpreted See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p 371, n 6

including *meya* (government share of the produce paid in kind) and *hiraṇya* (government share of certain crops paid in cash) to the Brāhmaṇa donee. The future *bhogapatis* are also entreated to protect the grant. The charter proper is followed by two imprecatory verses and the date when it was issued. The plates were engraved by a person named Śrīdatta

It appears that Rāhudeva was a *bhogapati* of the Nandapura *bhoga* that formed part of the dominions of Narendra. In some records, the word *bhoga*, like *bhukti*, seems to be used in the sense of an ordinary administrative unit, but in a few cases it possibly indicates an *inām* The *bhoga* tenure,[4] however, does not usually appear to have carried with it the limited right of alienation which Rāhudeva seems to have had with reference to the village granted. The reference to future *bhogapatis* who were entreated not to confiscate the village (in official capacity) possibly suggests that *bhoga* implies in the present record an administrative unit like district and that the *bhogapati* was an officer in charge of a district (cf *viṣayapati*, etc.). But Rāhudeva could not possibly have alienated a village in the capacity of a mere bureaucratic officer It may therefore be supposed that he had a limited right of ownership of the village Alienation of the land on his part required the sanction of the king.[5]

From epigraphic and numismatic sources, we have hitherto learnt of five kings of the so-called Śarabhapura dynasty [6]

4 Cf the form of tenure called *rāja-bhogga* in Buddhist literature The holder of this tenure was empowered to exact all dues accruing to the government within the boundaries of the district or estate granted to him He had to render to government no account of the dues thus received, as they were his own perquisite He could hold his own courts, but could draw no rent The peasantry had to pay him the tithe of the rice grown, but he could not vary the amount, though it was not always strictly a tithe and by royal decrees could be varied in different localities The same was the case with the import, or ferry, or octroi duties The rate of payment and the places where the levy could be made were fixed by government The line of distinction between the collection of dues by civil servants or farmers of the taxes and their collection by a grantee of *rāja-bhogga* was very narrow See *Camb Hist Ind*, I, p 179 *Bhogika* has been explained in the *Select Inscriptions* as either an officer in charge of the royal stable or a *jāgirdār* The word may possibly also indicate an officer in charge of a *bhoga*

5 As to the original meaning of these territorial terms, it should be noticed that the *jāgirdārs* of ancient and medieval India were almost like governors or feudatory chiefs Cf *bhoga* (enjoyment), in *Sel Ins*, pp 286, 328

6 Cf Mirashi, *Ep Ind*, XXII, p 16

1 Prasannamātra,

2 Jayarāja, son of Prasannamātra, issued charter from Śarabhapura, known date regnal year 5,

3 Mānamātra, son of Prasannamātra;

4. Sudevarāja, son of Mānamātra, issued charters from Śarabhapura, last known date regnal year 10,

5 Pravararāja, son of Mānamātra, issued charter from Śrīpura, known date regnal year 3.

The names of Nos 2, 4 and 5 are quoted above as they are usually found in the legends of the seals of their charters In the text of the charters however the word *mahā*° is prefixed to the names It appears that words like *mahāsudeva-rāja* were coined to imply the same thing as *Sudeva-mahārāja* or *mahārāja-Sudeva* The elements *mahā*° and °*rāja* respectively prefixed and suffixed to the names, therefore, do not appear to form essential parts of the names [7]

As the Pīpardūlā grant is palæographically earlier than the records of the later members of the Śarabhapura dynasty, Śarabha and his son *Mahārāja* Narendra are to be placed early in the genealogical scheme This sugges-tion seems to be supported by the fact that Śarabha, father of Narendra, was probably the founder of Śarabhapura from where most of the records of the family were issued. It is true that Śarabha is not given any royal title in the legend of the seal of the Pīpardūlā grant This is however of no great importance, as the reference is found in a verse in which the author's free-dom was rather limited The versifier was moreover not skilled enough, he allowed a *laghu-sastha* in the first foot of the verse and this he could have easily avoided by writing °*jita-kṣiteḥ* instead of °*jita-bhuvaḥ* Further, the fact that *Mahārāja* Narendra mentions the name of his father on his seal possibly shows that Śarabha was a personality of considerable importance

7 That *mahā*° did not form any part of the names is possibly proved by the fact that it could have been easily employed in the seal legend if only the authors of the verses so desired They could have written, *e g*, महासुदेवराजस्य for श्रीमत्सुदेवराजस्य, महाप्रवरराजस्य for श्रीमत्प्रवरराजस्य, and श्रीमहाजयराजस्य for श्रीमतो जयराजस्य in the legends The word *mahā*°, which is also used as an ordinary honorific or distinctive epithet, may likewise be omitted in referring to names like Mahā-Bhavagupta and Mahā-Śivagupta *Mahāśiva* seems to be an honorifice in the name Mahāśiva-Tivara See *Suc Sāt*, p 64 [The above is Sircar's view with which Pandeya is inclined to disagree]

The father's name Śarabha and the son issuing his charter from the city of Śarabhapura, again, suggest that the city was named after Śarabha who probably founded it

King Śarabha, father of Narendra and the supposed founder of Śarabhapura, may further be identified with Śarabharāja, maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died at Eran in 510 A D[8] This identification would place Śarabha and Narendra about the last quarter of the fifth century A D We do not as yet know if Prasannamātra was the immediate successor of Narendra, but apparently the interval between the reign-periods of these two kings was not long[9] It is possible to suggest that Śarabha and his successors whom we know from inscriptions and coins ruled for about a century, i e, about the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century The last known king Pravara ruled about the middle of the sixth century He issued his charter from Śrīpura (modern Sirpur in the Raipur Dist.) where he probably transferred his capital from Śarabhapura[10] In the second half of the sixth century, the Pāndava kings, who originally ruled over the country to the west of the Śarabhapura kingdom, became lords of South Kosala, *i e*, the modern Raipur-Bilāspur-Sambalpur region The rule of the Śarabhapura kings was probably terminated by Tīvara, the Pāndava king of Kosala, who issued his charters from Śrīpura Tīvara seems to have conquered Śrīpura either from Pravara or from one of the latter's immediate successors As suggested in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*[11] this Tīvara was probably defeated by the Visnukundin king Mādhavavarman I before the 37th year of the latter's reign, both of these kings ruled about the second half of the sixth century A D Prof V V Mirashi suggests[12] the dates *c* 515-30 for Pravara, *c* 525-68 for Mādhavavarman I and *c* 530-50 for Tīvara, but all the three dates

8 See the Eran stone pillar inscription of the time of Bhānu Gupta dated in the Gupta year 191, *Sel Ins*, I, pp 335-36 The identification of the founder of Śarabhapura with Śarabharāja of the Eran epigraph was suggested by Prof Mirashi, *Ep Ind*, XXII, p 17

9 Pandit Pandeya likes to suggest that Narendra conquered Śarabhapura from Prasannamātra or Mānamātra, but was soon driven out by Jaya or Sudeva Sircar does not subscribe to this suggestion especially on grounds of palaeography and style

10 Cf Mirashi, *op cit*

11 Sircar, *Journ Dept Lett*, XXVI, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, 1939, p 129 Mr A Ghosh has tried recently in *EI* to revive the old theory assigning Tivara to a late date Cf also criticism of Mirashi, *op cit*

12 *Ep Ind*, XXII, pp 21-22.

appear to be rather early. The chronology of the Śarabhapura kings cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge, but the following tentative scheme may serve the purpose until further evidence is forthcoming as to the number of the rulers and the duration of their ruling periods, coming as to the number of the rulers and the duration of their ruling periods, Śarabha, *c* 465-80, Narendra, *c* 480-95, Prasannamātra, *c* 495-510, Jaya, As shown in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I possibly ruled in *c* 535-85 A D Tīvara seems to have ruled in the second half of the sixth century, he may be tentatively assigned to *c*. 565-80.

The location of Śarabhapura has not yet been definitely settled In any case, it does not appear to have been far off from Śrīpura in the present Raipur Dist As the records issued from the city have all been discovered in the country about the Raipur Dist , it should possibly be located in the same region. It is indeed probable that Pravata founded the new capital very near the old city which had been the capital of his forefathers The question of identification must remain open until further evidence is forthcoming Among the identifications suggested by scholars, the one with Sarpa° or Sarabha-gaṛh,[13] chief town of a Zamindari of that name in the Gangpur State (Sambalpur Dist , Orissa), appears to be not an satisfactory, although, it should be noted, no record issued from Śarabhapura has so far been discovered in that locality

Of the other geographical names, Nandapura *bhoga* is not traceable in the vicinity of Pīpaḍūlā, the findspot of the present record But there is one Nandgaon on the Mahānadī in the Sārangaṛh State and close to it there is a big village called Sākarā which may represent the Śarkarāpadrika of the grant There are two adjoining villages called Nandaur[14] big and small in the Bilaspur Dist., about 40 miles from Sākarā The site of these two

13 The identification was suggested by Pandit Pandeya, *Proc Fif Or Con*, p 461 The city has been identified by some scholars (*e g*, R L Mitra) with Sambalpur and by others with Sārangarh Hiralal suggested that the Śarabhapura kings gave this name to Śrīpura which they had conquered from the rulers of the Pāṇḍava dynasty Pandit Pandeya is now inclined to think that the identification of Śarabhapura with Saravā near Sheorinārāyan and the Mahānadi or with Sarhar near Nandaur is not impossible Sten Konow's identification with Śarabhavaram about 20 miles from Rajahmundry is improbable

14 For a silver coin of Prasannamātra discovered at Nandaur, see Pandeya, *IHQ*, XV, *MKHS Papers*, II, App p 24

Pipardulā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra



Seal

Pīpardulā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra



First plate Second side



Second plate First side

villages, not far from Sakti on the B N Ry., contains some old relics and may actually represent the headquarters of the Nandapura *bhoga* There is another village called Sākaṭā in the Raipur Dist, but no locality of the name like Nandapura can be traced in its neighbourhood.

TEXT

Seal

1 खड्गधाराजितभुवः[15] शर[भात्प्रा]प्तजन्मनः (।*)
2 नृपतेश्श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य शासनं रिपुशासिन[ः*] (॥*)

First Plate Second Side

1 [16] स्वस्ति (॥*) शरभपुरान्महाराजश्रीनरेन्द्रः
2 नन्दपुरभोगीय-शर्क्करापद्रके ब्राह्मणा-
3 दीन्प्रातिवासिकुटुम्बिनो बोधयति (।*)
4 एष ग्रामो राहुदेवेन स्वपुण्याभिवृद्ध-
5 ये ब्राह्मण-वाजसनेय[17]-आत्रेयसगोत्र-

Second Plate First Side

6 स्वामिनाय[18] ताम्रशासनेनातिसृष्टो मया-
7 पि च अचाटभटप्रावेश्य इत्यनुमोदितो
8 यतो भवद्भिरस्य यथाकालं मेय-
9 हिरण्यादीना प्रत्यायानामुपनय-
10 कर्त्तव्यः (।*) भविष्यतश्च भोगपतीनभिनन्दर्यात[19]

Second Plate Second Side

11 पूर्व्वदत्तेरनुपालनाच्छ्रेयसा सम्बन्धः आ-
12 च्छेदाच्च प्रत्यपाय[20] इत्यनुप्रपश्यद्भिर्भवद्भि-
13 रस्य ग्रामस्यानुपालनं कर्त्तव्यम् (॥*)
14 व्यासगीतो चात्र श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति ।
पूर्व्व-
15 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)

15 To rectify the metre, one may suggest the emendation ०च्छिते
16 The word *siddham* expressed by a symbol.
17 Read ०सनेयात्रेय० 18 Sanskrit स्वाम्यात्मने
19 Cf मानोन्नतेनाप्यभिनन्द्य (var lect ०वन्द्य) मूर्द्ध्ना, *Raghu*, XVI, 81
20 Better read प्रत्यवाय०

Third Plate First Side

16 महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् (॥*)1
17 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः (।*)
18 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसे(त्*) (॥*)2
19 प्रवर्द्धमान**द्वितीयवर्षस्य**[21] मार्ग्गशि-
20 रमासदिवसे दशमे (।*) उत्कीर्ण्णा[22] श्रीदत्तेनेति (॥*)

Translation

Seal The charter belongs to the illustrious king Narendra who has conquered the earth by the sharp edge of his sword, who is born of Śarabha and who is the chastiser of his enemies.

Ll 1-14.

Let there be success. Let there be happiness From Śarabhapura, *Mahārāja* Narendra thus informs the agriculturist inhabitants including Brāhmaṇas residing at Śarkarāpadraka in the Nandapura *bhoga* "This village has been granted, in accordance with the custom regarding copper-plate grants, by Rāhudeva, for the increase of his own merit, in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Svāmippa (= Svāmyātman) of the Vājasaneya (*caraṇa*) and the Ātreya *gotra* I have also confirmed (the grant by making it) 'not to be entered by the regular and irregular troops' Therefore you should make offers of the taxes including the share of the produce and the cash money paid in lieu of the produce (to the Brāhmaṇa) in proper time" (The king) further causes (Rahudeva) to greet respectfully the *bhogapatis* of the future (with the request) "You too should protect the (gift of) the village in view of the fact that one gets prosperity by protecting a gift made previously (by another person), whereas one commits sin by confiscating it" In this connection, (people) quote two verses sung by Vyāsa

[Two imprecatory verses left untranslated]

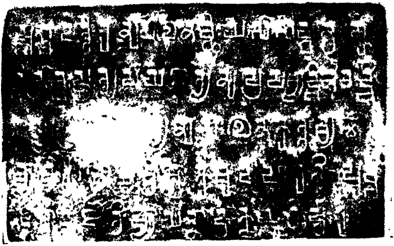
Ll 19-20

In the prospering third (regnal) year, on the tenth day of the month of Mārgaśira (is the charter issued). (It) is engraved by Śrīdatta

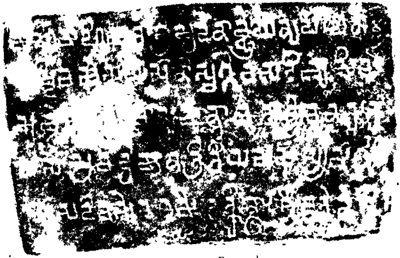
DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR
L. P PĀNDEYA ŚARMĀ

21 Read तृतीय 22 Read उत्कीर्ण्णा [पट्टिका] or उत्कीर्णं [शासनं]

Pipardulā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra



Second plate Second side



Third plate First side

Metrical and Grammatical Lapses due to the Imposition of Rules of modern Grammar and Prosody on Ṛks

I (1) वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय (11) syllables
नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि (11)।
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णा- (11)
न्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही (11)
(भगवद्गीता २।२२)॥

(2) अहमेव मतो महीपते- (10)
रिति सर्वः प्रकृतिष्वचिन्तयत् (11)।
उदधेरिव निम्नगाशते- (10)
ष्वभवन्नास्य विमानना क्वचित् (11)
(रघुवंश ८।८)॥

(3) पद्मावती नरपतेर्महिषी भवित्री (14)
दृष्टा विपत्तिरथ यैः प्रथमं प्रदिष्टा (14)।
तत्प्रत्ययात् कृतमिदं न हि सिद्धवाक्या- (14)
न्युत्क्रम्य गच्छति विधिः सुपरीक्षितानि (14)
(स्वप्नवासवदत्ता १।११)॥

In these three modern stanzas each half is a unit made up of two verses

If जीर्णानि be separated from अन्यानि in the second half of stanza 1, तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णानि would contain 12 instead of 11 syllables, जीर्णानि and अन्यानि therefore must be joined into जीर्णान्यन्यानि. This is also true of the second halves of stanzas 2 and 3, शतेषु cannot be separated from अभवत् and वाक्यानि from उत्क्रम्य. These combinations are necessitated by metrical requirements But this rule of each half forming a unit cannot be enforced in Ṛks without violating metre

(1) ऋक्संहिता :—वायवा याहि दर्शतेमे सोमा अरंकृताः। तेषां पाहि श्रुधी हवम् (१।२।१)

दर्शतेमे violates metre, वायवा याहि दर्शत। इमे सोमा अरंकृताः is syllabically and rhythmically faultless

In the following quotations the injury done to Ṛks by joining two verses is clearly seen.

(2) ऋ० सं० :—त्रिर्यातुधानः प्रसितिं त एत्वृतं यो अग्ने अनृतेन हन्ति (१०।८७।११)
त्रिर्यातुधानः प्रसितिं त एतु । ऋतं etc.

(3) ऋ० सं० :—तमर्यमाभि रक्षत्यृजूयन्तमनु व्रतम् (१।१३६।५) तमर्यमाभि रक्षति । ऋजूयन्तम् अनुव्रतम्

(4) ऋ० सं० :—आमस्रासासः शवसानमच्छेन्द्रं सुचक्रे रथ्यासो अश्वाः (६।३७।३)
आमस्रासामः शवसानमच्छा । इन्द्रं etc

(5) ऋ० सं० :—एता धियं कृणवामा सखायोऽप या माताँ ऋणुत व्रजं गोः (५।४५।६)
एता धियं कृणवामा सखायः । अप etc.

(6) ऋ० सं० :—षड्भाराँ एको अचरन्बिभर्त्यृतं वर्षिष्ठमुप गाव आगुः (३।५६।२)
षड्भारान् एको अचरन् बिभर्ति । ऋतं वर्षिष्ठम् उप गाव आगुः

(7) ऋ० सं० :—प्र श्यावाश्व धृष्णुयार्चा मरुद्भिर्ऋक्वभिः (५।५२।१)
प्र श्याव—अश्व धृष्णुया । अर्चा etc

(8) ऋ० सं० :—महि प्सरः सुकृतं सोम्यं मधूर्वी गव्यूतिरदितेर्ऋतं यते (९।७४।३)
महि प्सरः सुकृतं सोम्यं मधु । उर्वी गव्यूतिर् अदिते etc.

(9) ऋ० सं० :—यो म इति प्रवोचत्यश्वमेधाय सूरये (५।२७।४)
यो मे इति प्रवोचति । अश्व etc.

(10) ऋ० सं० :—त्वमिन्द्र यशा अस्यृजीषी शवसस्पते (८।९०।५)
त्वमिन्द्र यशा असि । ऋजीषी etc

(11) ऋ० सं० :—अतश्चिदस्य महिमा वि रेच्यभि यो विश्वा भुवना बभूव (४।१६।५)
अतश्चिदस्य महिमा वि रेचि । अभि etc

(12) ऋ० सं० :—ऋतं चिकित्व ऋतमिच्चिकिद्ध्यृतस्य धारा अनु तृन्धि पूर्वीः (५।१२।२)
ऋतं चिकित्वः ऋतमित् चिकिद्धि । ऋतस्य etc.

In 3 ऋजूयन्तं ought to be separated from अनुव्रतं, in 6 वर्षिष्ठं from उप and in 8 गव्यूतिर् from अदिते for the purpose of making the final अ and इ count as long syllables मे in 9 and चिकित्वः in 12 ought to be retained instead of being altered to म and चिकित्व. In 7 श्यावाश्व is to be pronounced as श्याव अश्व for syllabic reasons.

II There seems to have been a rule in the days when the ऋक्संहिता was compiled that अ and आ should not be combined with the following ऋ and that आ should be altered to अ. But the enforcement of such a rule in Ṛks spoils them syllabically and rhythmically.

(1) ऋ० सं० :—ते हि द्यावापृथिवी विश्वशंभुव ऋतावरी रजसो धारयत्कवी (१।१६०।१)

विश्वशंभुवा । ऋता

(2) ऋ० सं० :—द्यौश्च नः पृथिवी च प्रचेतस ऋतावरी रक्षतामंहसो रिषः (१०।३६।२)

प्रचेतसा । ऋता

(3) ऋ० सं० :—प्र मा क्षितिरसुर या महि प्रिय ऋतावानावृतमा घोषथो बृहत (१।१५१।४)

प्र मा क्षितिर् असुर या महि प्रिया । ऋता etc

(4) ऋ० सं० :—दैव्या होतारा प्रथमा विदुष्टर ऋजु यक्षतः समृचा वपुष्टरा (२।३।७)

विदुष्टरा । ऋजु

(5) ऋ० सं० :—दुधेर्युक्तस्य द्रवतः सहानस ऋच्छन्ति ष्मा निष्पदो मुद्गलानीम् (१०।१०२।६)

सहानसा । ऋच्छन्ति

(6) ऋ० सं० :—यज्ञ विमाय कवया मनीष ऋक्सामाभ्या प्र रथं वर्तयन्ति । (१०।११४।६)

मनीषा । ऋक्

(7) ऋ० सं० :—सिषक्तु माता मही रसा नः स्मत्सूरिभिर्ऋजुहस्त ऋजुवनिः (५।४१।१५) नः । स्मत्सूरिभिर्ऋजुहस्ता ऋजूवनिः

(8) ऋ० सं० :—कुविन्म ऋषिं पपिवांसं सुतस्य (३।४३।५)

कुविन्मा ऋषिं

The shortening of आ in विश्वशंभुवा, प्रचेतसा, प्रिया, विदुष्टरा, सहानसा, मनीषा, ऋजुहस्ता and मा to अ has spoiled the rhythm of the Rks

III In the following Rks अ ought to be combined with the following ऋ for syllabic reasons.

(1) ऋ० सं० :—इन्द्र सोमं पिब ऋतुना त्वा विशन्त्विन्दव (१।१५।१)

इन्द्र सोमं पिबर्तुना । त्वा विशन्तु इन्दवः

(2) ऋ० सं० :—मरुतः पिबत ऋतुना पोत्राद्यज्ञं पुनीतन (१।१५।२)

मरुतः पिबतर्तुना । पोत्रात् यज्ञ etc

(3) ऋ० सं० :—ग्रावो नेष्टः पिब ऋतुना (१।१५।३)

पिबर्तुना

(4) ऋ० सं० :—विद्युर्मे अस्य देवा इन्द्रो विद्यात्सह ऋषिभिः (१।२३।२४)

देवाः । इन्द्रो विद्यात् सहर्षिभिः

(5) ऋ० सं० :—ऋतेन ऋतं नियतमीळ आ गोरामा सचा मधुमत्पक्वमग्ने (४।३।९)
ऋतेनर्तं नियतमीळ आ गोः । आ मा etc.

(6) ऋ० सं० :—अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन्त्सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमाने (४।४२।८)
आसन् । सप्तर्षयो

(7) ऋ० सं० :—वरुणाय ऋतपेशसे दधीत प्रयसे महे (५।६६।१)
वरुणायर्तपेशसे । दधी etc.

(8) ऋ० सं० :—भूरिभिः समह ऋषिभिर्बर्हिष्मद्भिः स्तविष्यसे (८।७०।१४)
समहर्षिभिः । बर्हि

(9) ऋ० सं० :—पारावतं यत्पुरुसंभृतं वस्वपावृणोः शरभाय ऋषिबन्धवे (८।१००।६)
वसु । अपावृणोः शरभायर्षिबन्धवे

(10) ऋ० सं० :—तमेव ऋषिं तमु ब्रह्माणमाहुर्यज्ञन्यं सामगामुक्थशासम् (१०।१०७।६)
तमेवर्षिं तमु ब्रह्माणमाहुः । यज्ञ etc.

IV Wrong Combinations

(1) ऋ० सं० :—यद्दोदयच्छवस ऋतप्रजात तदस्मासु द्रविणं धेहि चित्रम् (२।२३।१५)
यद्दोदयत् शवसर्तप्रजात । तद etc.

(2) ऋ० सं० :—मा तन्तुश्छेदि वयतो धियं मे मा मात्रा शार्यपसः पुर ऋतोः (२।२८।५)
मे । मा मात्रा शारि अपसः पुरर्तोः

(3) ऋ० सं० :—पर ऋणा सावीरध मत्कृतानि माहं राजन्नन्यकृतेन भोजम् (२।२८।९)
परर्णा सावीरध मत्कृतानि । माहं etc.

(4) ऋ० सं० :—नास्या वश्मि विमुचं नावृतं पुनर्विद्वान्पथः पुरएत ऋजु नेषति (५।४६।१)
पुनः । विद्वान् पथः पुरएतर्जु नेषति

(5) ऋ० सं०—यच्चिद्धि वां पुर ऋषयो जुहूरेऽवसे नरा (८।८।६)
यच्चिद्धि वां पुरर्षयः । जुहूरे अवसे नरा

(6) ऋ० सं :—यथा कलां यथा शफं यथ ऋणं संनयामसि (८।४७।१७)
शफम् । यथर्णं

In these Ṛks the आ in शवसा, पुरा, एता and यथा has been shortened to अ in the संहिता according to the rule laid down in paragraph 2, but the आ must be combined with the following ऋ for syllabic and rhythmical reasons.

V The following Rks have been spoiled both syllabically and rhythmically by combinations.

(1) ऋ० सं० :—रथो न विद्युञ्जसान आयुषु व्यानुषग्वार्या देव ऋण्वति (१।५८।३)
रथो न विद्युत् ऋञ्जसान आयुषु । वि आनुषक् etc

(2) ऋ० सं० : -त्वे इन्द्राप्यभूम विप्रा धियं वनेम ऋतया सपन्तः (२।११।१२)
त्वे इन्द्र अपि अभूम विप्राः । धियं etc.

(3) ऋ० सं० : -त्वं चित्रः शम्या अग्ने अस्या ऋतस्य बोध्यृतचित्स्वाधीः (४।३।४)
अस्याः । ऋतस्य बोधि ऋतचित् सुआधीः

(4) ऋ० सं० :—मीळ्हुष्मतीव पृथिवी पराहता मदन्त्येत्यस्मदा (५।५६।३)
हता । मदन्ती एति

(5) ऋ० स० :—एमेनं प्रत्येतन सोमेभिः सोमपातमम् (६।४२।२)
प्रति एतन । सोमे

(6) ऋ० सं० :—त्वमिन्द्र स्वयशा ऋभुक्षा वाजो न साधुरस्तमेष्यृक्वा (७।३७।४)
ऋभुक्षाः । वाजो न साधुरस्तमेषि ऋक्वा

(7) ऋ० सं० :—प्र कृतान्यृजीषिणः कण्वा इन्द्रस्य गाथया (८।३२।१)
प्रकृतानि ऋजीषिणः । कण्वा

(8) ऋ० सं० :—द्विता व्यूर्ण्वन्नमृतस्य धाम (६।६४।२)
द्विता वि ऊर्ण्वन् अमृ etc

(9) ऋ० सं० :—इह श्रुत इन्द्रो अस्मे अद्य स्तवे वज्यृचीषमः मित्रा न यो जनेष्वा यशश्चक्रे असाम्या (१०।२२।२)
इह श्रुत इन्द्रो अस्मे अद्य । स्तवे वज्री ऋचीषमः । मित्रा न यो जनेषु आ । यशश्चक्रे असामि आ

Combinations have not only spoiled the following Rks syllabically and rhythmically but have also made them hard for recitation.

(1) ऋ० सं०—ऐषु चेतद्वृषण्वत्यन्तर्ऋज्रेष्वरुषी (८।६८।१८)
ऐषु चेतत् वृषण्वती । अन्तर् ऋज्रेषु आरुषी. अरुषी was certainly आरुषी ;
आरुषी=आ । अरुषी

(2) ऋ॰ सं॰—धीरो ह्यस्यद्मसद्विप्रो न जागृविः सदा (८।४४।२९)
धीरो हि असि अद्मसद्। विप्रो etc.

VI In the following Ṛks rhythm requires the retention of विसर्ग after the words given in thick type.

(1) ऋ॰ सं॰ सुगः पन्था **अनृक्षर आदित्यास** ऋतं यते (१।४१।४)
अनृक्षरः। आदित्यासः

(2) ऋ॰ सं॰—आरे सा वः सुदानवो मरुत ऋञ्जती शरुः (१।१७२।२)
सुदानवः। मरुतः

(3) ऋ॰ सं॰—यो राजभ्य ऋतनिभ्यो ददाश (२।२७।१२)
राजभ्यः

(4) ऋ॰ सं॰—विद्युद्रथा **मरुत** ऋष्टिमन्तो (३।५४।१३)
मरुत.

(5) ऋ॰ सं॰ —नीचारमुष्मै **यम्य** ऋतावृधः (५।४४।८)
यम्यः

(6) ऋ॰ सं॰—अयं स सूनु· **सहस** ऋतावा (६।१२।१)
सहस·

(7) ऋ॰ सं॰—चयत्स **राय** ऋतपा ऋतेजा· (७।२०।६)
रायः

(8) ऋ॰ सं॰—**ऋतावान** ऋतजाता ऋतावृधो (७।६६।१३)
ऋतावानः

(9) ऋ॰ सं॰—वया दधाना **उशिज** ऋतज्ञाः (१०।१०४।८)
उशिज

Or instead of retaining the विसर्ग the preceding अ and the विसर्ग should be combined into आ for which कदा चिकित्वा अभि चक्षसे न· (५।३।९) would be a sufficient authority.

So आदित्यास, मरुत·, राजभ्य·, यम्यः, सहसः, राय·, ऋतावान· and उशिज· should be written as आदित्यासो, मरुतो, राजभ्यो, यम्यो, सहसो, रायो, ऋतावानो and उशिजो.

VII The faults shown in the preceding paragraphs were due to the interference of modern Sk grammar and prosody with Rks संधि rules were not obligatory in Rv, the observance of those rules depended on the exigencies of metre.

The composers of Ṛks. were scrupulously careful about syllables and rhythm for which purpose they sometimes violated rules of grammar.

In उपधीव and प्रधीव (२।३६।४) we find उपधी and प्रधी which are duals combined with the following इव. Sometimes a letter is omitted for the same purpose, तुभ्यं is altered to तुभ्य in 10 Rks, तुभ्येदेते बहुला अद्रिदुग्धाः (१।५४।६) and तुभ्येदेते मरुतः सुशेवा. (५।३०।६); तुभ्यम्+इत+एते=तुभ्यमिदेते; by the retention of मकार and its combination with इत the lines would have an additional syllable which would spoil the metre. The omission of म् therefore was absolutely necessary. In यजध्वैनं प्रियमेधाः (८।२।३७) the म् in यजध्वम् has been omitted for the same reason.

VIII The संहिता form of Rks conceals corruptions which had crept into them during centuries long before the संहिता compilation.

(1) एवाग्निर्मर्तैः सह सूरिभिर्वसु ष्टवे सहसः सूनरो नृभिः। मित्रासो न ये सुधिता ऋतायवो द्यावो न द्युम्नैरभि सन्ति मानुषान् (१०।११५।७)

The first half contains 22 syllables while the second contains 24.

एवाग्निर्मर्तैः सह सूरिभिर्वसु। स्तवे (सनु) सहस सूनरो नृभिः। मित्रासो न ये सुधिता ऋतायवः। द्यावो न द्युम्नैरभि सन्ति मानुषान्, the splitting of the first half into 2 lines reveals the fact that 2 syllables are wanting. सहसः is found in company with पुत्र, यहु and सनु, in the present Rk the missing word must have been सूनुः and not पुत्रः because सूनुः would suit the alliteration of स् in सह, सूरिभिः, वसुः, स्तवे, सहसः and सूनरः and also that of नृ in सूनरः and नृभिः.

सायण :—सहसः बलस्य सूनरः सुष्ठु प्रेरकः। यद्वा। सूनुः इति अस्य वर्णव्यत्ययः सूनरः सूनुः, सूनरः here is rendered by सुष्ठुप्रेरकः or is treated as a substitute for सूनुः

(2) बतो बतासि यम नैव ते मनो हृदयं चाविदाम। अन्या किल त्वां कक्ष्येव युक्तं परिष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम (१०।१०।१३)

बतो बतासि यम नैव ते मनो। हृदयं चाविदाम। अन्या किल त्वां कक्ष्येव युक्तं। परिष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम ;

The first line contains 12 syllables, the second 7, the third 10 and the last 11, if we read कक्ष्येव for कक्ष्येव, line 3 also would have 11 syllables;

in the second line 4 or 5 syllables are wanting, but it is impossible to guess what those syllables were.

(3) इन्द्रो अस्मॉं अरदद्वज्रबाहुरपाहन्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम्। देवोऽनयत्सविता सुपाणिस्तस्य वयं प्रसवे याम उर्वीः (३।३३।६) ,

इन्द्रो अस्मान् अरदद्वज्रबाहुः। अपाहन् वृत्रं परिधि नदीनाम्। देवोऽनयत् (नः) सविता सुपाणिः। तस्य वयं प्रसवे याम उर्वीः.

Line three contains 10 as against 11 syllables in each one of the other 3 lines, the one syllable wanting in line three is evidently नः which is the object of अनयत्.

(4) अस्मे वीरो मरुत शुष्म्यस्तु जनाना यो असुरो विधर्ता। अपो येन सुक्षितये तरेमाध स्वमोको अभि व. स्याम (७।५६।२४)

अस्मे वीरो मरुतः शुष्मी अस्तु। जनाना यो असुरो विधर्ता। अपो येन सुक्षितये तरेम। अध स्वमोको अभि वः स्याम .

Line 2 contains 10 as against 11 syllables in each one of the other 3 lines as स्याम in line 4 is to be read as सियाम ; यो in line 2 may have been originally मर्यो ; जनानां मर्यो असुरो विधर्ता is syllabically and rhythmically faultless

(5) उत्त्वा मन्दन्तु स्तोमा. कृणुष्व राधो अद्रिवः। अव ब्रह्मद्विषो जहि (८।६४।१).

Line 1 contains 7 as against 8 in lines 2 and 3, स्तोमा· spoils line 1 both syllabically and rhythmically, words like मे गिर. are wanted in place of स्तामा· ;उत्त्वा मन्दन्तु मे गिर. is faultless

(6) दिवो न तुभ्यमन्विन्द्र सत्रासुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम्। अहि यद्वृत्रमपो वव्रिवांसं हन्नृजीषिन्विष्णुना सचानः (६।२०।२) ,

दिवो न तुभ्यम् अनु इन्द्र सत्रा। असुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम्। अहिं यद्वृत्रम् अपो वव्रिवांसं। हन् ऋजीषिन् विष्णुना सचानः ;

Lines 1 and 3 contain 11 syllables each while 2 and 4 contain 10 only, line 2 moreover is unrhythmical on account of देवेभिः ; was it something like असुर्यं देव अभि धायि विश्वम् ? हन् in line 4 must have been अहन् originally.

These 6 Rks are sufficient to prove that *Ṛv* is not free from corruptions. Numbers of corrupt Ṛks can be quoted to prove this statement.

IX A peculiarity of the scansion of Rks To make up the number of necessary syllables a conjunct consonant is sometimes to be split into two syllables for which there is authority in *Rv* itself.

(1) स वाजी रोचना दिवः (८)। पवमानो वि धावति (८)। रक्षोहा वार-**मव्ययम्** (८) (९।३७।३) ;

(2) सो अर्षेन्द्राय पीतये (८)। तिरो रोमाणि **अव्यया** (८) (९।६२।८) ;

(3) तमुक्षमाणम**व्यये** (८)। वारे पुनन्ति धर्णसिम् (८) (९।८८।५)

Here we find अव्ययं, अव्यया and अव्यये substituted for अव्यं, अव्या and अव्ये for syllabic reasons But in the following Rks we find no such substitution as there is the necessary number of syllables,

(1) इन्दो वि **अव्यमर्षसि** (८)। वि श्रवांसि वि सौभगा (८) (९।६७।५) ;

(2) रोमाणि **अव्या** समया वि धावति (१२)।
मधोर्धारा पिन्वमाना दिवेदिवे (१२) (९।७५।४) ;

(3) अव्ये वधूयुः पवते परि त्वचि (१२)।
श्रथ्नीते नप्तीरदितेर्ऋतं यते (१२) (९।६९।३)

(1) अधा यो विश्वा भुवनाभि मज्मना। (१२)
ईशानकृत् प्रवया अभ्यवर्धत (१२)
आद्रोदसी ज्योतिषा वह्निरातनोत् (१२)।
सीव्यन् तमांसि दुधिता समव्ययत् (१२) (२।१७।४)

here समव्ययत् is substituted for समव्यत् for making up the necessary number of syllables But in the following Rk this substitution is not necessary,

पुनः समव्यत् विततं वयन्ती (११)।
मध्या कर्तोः नि अधात् शक्म धीरः (११) (२।३८।४).

This splitting up of conjunct consonants is necessary in some Ṛks quoted in the preceding sections.

V. K. RAJWADE

The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*

Master of a keen sense of pathos, Kalhana yet possessed the gift of humour in a remarkable degree We have already referred to his humorous portraits of individual upstarts, knaves and impostors Mention has also been made of his numerous hits at Brahman assemblies and temple *puro hitas* indulging in the farce of solemn fasts which were ended by bribery The author draws a remarkably humorous picture (V, 462-403) of the deliberations of the Brahman assembly that elected Yaśaskara to the throne after the extinction of the Utpala dynasty The wiseacres, 'dressed in coarse woollen cloaks' and 'resembling bulls without horns', with beards scorched by smoke, long disputed with each other for the proper choice of a king While they failed to reach a decision, nobody received the water of inauguration, only their own beards were wetted by the spittings ejected in their rough talk' At last, forced by the solemn fast of a whole host of *purohitas* of sacred places who assembled at the capital, they made their choice in favour of Yaśaskara Elsewhere (VII, 1574-6) while describing the horrors of Harsa's defeat by Uccala's forces at the capital city, Kalhana relieves the appalling gloom of the picture by a few humorous strokes Among the boorish plunderers of the royal palace, one put camphor into his mouth mistaking it for sugar, others 'eager to get gold burned clothes painted with gold and then anxiously searched the ashes', others again ground in hand-mills a mass of pearls which they took to be rice-corns In other passages Kalhana's humour changes into bitter satire Such is the case with his frequent references to the cowardly flight and desertion of the Kashmirian soldiery on the battle-field as well as his picture of disreputable social types like Kāyasthas and merchants, to which we have already drawn the readers' attention We shall presently see with what biting satire the author speaks again and again of traitors and cowards Equally scathing is the author's exposure (VI, 100) of the hypocrisy of Yaśaskara's courtiers who solemnly affirmed their decision to go into mourning after the king's death, but forgot their promise when his death was imminent As regards the vulgar people, we have already seen how satirisingly Kalhana speaks of their fickleness which makes him indulge in the sage comment (VIII, 896) 'The vulgar people

* Continued from *IHQ*, vol XIX, p 38

just like animals, do not require any reasons for their actions' Very sarcastic also is the chronicler's account (VIII, 702 ff.) of the absurd rumours which were circulated about the greatness of the pretender Bhiksācara at the time of his successful invasion of Kashmir. Even hoary old men with long white beards, says the author, told stories like the following:—'He says nothing that is not refined, ten rocks he splits with an arrow, he walks a hundred *yojanas* and back without getting tired.' Everyone, even if unconnected with public affairs, the chronicler goes on, told and asked news about the pretender as if he were himself to get one-half of the kingdom' In this connection Kalhana gives, VIII, 706-10, a list of the characteristic types of sedition-mongers who 'in this land delight in the king's misfortunes' These are the old officials out of employment, the so-called princes living in the royal palace, some soldiers 'wicked and eager to get on high horses', the schoolmasters addicted to vicious practices, the aged dancing girls in the temples, the roguish and sanctimonious merchants, the *purohita* corporations 'expert in arranging solemn fasts', and the boorish Dāmaras from the environs of the city.

Exact topography

We have now examined the qualities of Kalhana's style which entitle him to high rank as a narrator of historical facts Passing to other characteristics of his genius, we have to mention the wealth and accuracy of his topographical details. The mass of his topographical references which makes his work, as Stein (II, p 366) well says 'not only the amplest but also the most authentic of our sources for the geography of Kashmir', has been conveniently arranged by the same scholar under three heads We have first his valuable notices of the *Topographia Sacra* of which Kashmir has been so prolific from the earliest times The Kashmirian *tīrthas*, consisting principally of sacred springs with their tutelary Nāga divinities, sacred streams and lakes as well as sacred natural formations, are described by the chronicler with such topographical fullness as to suggest reminiscences of personal visits probably on pilgrimages The legends which the author narrates about many of the *tīrthas* in his first three Books have been of substantial help in identifying their sites. Next to Kalhana's notices of *tīrthas* may be mentioned his numerous references to the foundations of 'towns, villages, estates, shrines and buildings' by kings, queens, ministers and other officials as well as private individuals There is ample

evidence to suggest that these references are almost entirely based on historical facts or at least on genuine local tradition. Kalhaṇa's accurate descriptions of the ancient sites (with their buildings) have been especially helpful in their identification in recent times Thus the data supplied by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* have enabled Stein to trace the exact position and limits of Pravarapura, the capital of Pravarasena II, and to fix the site and identify the remains of Parihāsapura, the capital of Lalitāditya The third and most important class of Kalhana's topographical notices is concerned with his numerous references to marches, battles and sieges, while narrating the troubled history of the kingdom during the century immediately preceding his time. The descriptions of these military operations are given with such remarkable attention to topographical detail as to furnish the most decisive clues to their identifications Topographical indications of great importance are also given in other passages which do not relate to military transactions. Thus in connection with the great engineering operations of Suyya in Avantivarman's reign the author indicates the position of the old and new confluences of the Vitastā and the Sindhu with such accuracy as to make possible Stein's identification of the former with absolute certainty (On the above, see Stein II, *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, pp 366-71).

Next to Kalhana's attitude towards the geography of his native land may be mentioned his regard for chronology For geography and chronology', as has been well said, are 'the sun and the moon, the right eye and the left eye, of all history' (Richard Hakluyt quoted in V A Smith's *Oxford History of India*, p. 1.) Leaving aside the ancient or semi-legendary times for which Kalhana's chronological aberrations have been sufficiently noticed above, we may state to his credit that from the beginning of the Utpala dynasty (Book V) onwards, he gives accurate dates in years, months and dates for the beginning (or end) as well as the important events of each reign The reckoning is invariably made according to the fashionable Laukika era which, as Buhler was the first to prove (*Kashmir Report*, pp 59ff quoted in Stein I, *Introd* p 58, *n* 6), commenced on the first day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the year 25 expired of the Kali era or the year 3075-76 B.C.). In one passage Kalhana distinguishes quite correctly, as it has been proved (VIII, 35 *n*), a certain year (Laukika 4177 = 1101-2 A D) as containing two Bhādrapada months, viz. the proper and the intercalated months of that name Again, in dealing with what may be called recent

history, Kalhana may be proved, by the incontestable evidence of dates to have stated his events in their proper chronological succession Thus to take a few examples, we have for the important year 4196 Laukika (i.e 1121-22 A.D) which marked the close of Sussala's first reign, no less than eight successive dates These are, firstly commencement of the year (i.e Caitra)—Great Rising of the Dāmaras (VIII, 661), secondly, Vaiśākha—Sussala's march against Malakostha (VIII, 667), thirdly, Jyaistha—Defeat and death of the rebel general Vijaya (VIII, 714), fourthly, Āsādha—Defeat of the king's forces by Prthvīhara (VIII, 74), fifthly, 3rd Āsādha, *Sudi*—Sussala's family sent to Lohara (VIII, 717), sixthly Śrāvana—The pretender Bhiksācara at Madavarājya (VIII, 723), seventhly, 14th Āśvina,, *Śudi*—Sussala's misery because of the uproar in the whole kingdom (VIII, 786), eighthly, 6th Mārgaśīrsa *Vadi*—Sussala's departure from the capital (VIII, 819) Again for the Laukika year 4198 (i.e 1122-23 A D) we have a series of six dates as follows firstly, Caitra—Dāmaras attack the city (VIII, 1053), secondly, Vaiśākha—Sussala suddenly attacked and defeated the Ḍāmara Prthvīhara (VIII, 1057), thirdly, 6th Jyaistha, *Vadi*—Sussala's disaster on the Gambhīrā bridge (VIII, 1064), fourthly, 8th Āsādha *Vadi*,—Sussala's victory at Gopādri hill (VIII, 1111), fifthly, Pausa—Tikka's march against Chuddā, wife of Garga (VIII, 1136), and sixthly Māgha—Sussala's return to the city after desertion of his general Yaśorāja (VIII, 1147) On the day of Sussala's murder and the immediately following day the course of events is given as follows firstly, New Moon day 4203 Laukika (=1128-29 A D) at mid-day—Sussala's murder (VIII, 1348), secondly, at night, Jayasimha's consultation with his ministers (VIII, 1369 ff) thirdly, next morning—Jayasimha's search for troops, heavy snowfall (VIII, 1375-76) fourthly, same morning—Sujji commenced his march for the capital (VIII, 1407), fifthly, at mid-day—Bhiksācara stopped in the vicinity of the city (VIII, 1383), sixthly, close of the day—Sujji reached the capital after his dangerous march (VIII, 1402) For the preceding period, it is true, Kalhana fails to give us the dates of all the principal events, but we may safely presume that they are at least narrated in their proper chronological succession

Along with Kalhana's exact topography and presumed regard for chronological succession, we may mention the completeness of his genealogical statements. In introducing new actors on the historical stage, the chronicler usually gives us welcome details of their ancestry To take a few examples he mentions the ancestors of Yaśaskara for four generations

(V, 469) and those of the general Jindurāja for five generations (VII, 263-65), while the descent of Uccala is traced from his fabled ancestor Nara, a king of Dārvābhisāra and a descendant of Bharadvāja through the historical Siṃharāja, Kāntirāja, Jassarāja and Malla (VII, 1282-87)

Appreciation of loyalty

It is probably due as much to Kalhana's innate nobility of character as to his bitter experience of the atrocious series of treacheries that stained the history of Kashmir within living memory that the chronicler uniformly bestows his highest praise upon servants bravely sacrificing their lives for the king's cause How well he can appreciate such heroic sacrifice even on the part of foreigners desecrating one of his country's revered shrines to avenge the wrong done to their murdered lord and king is proved by his comment (IV, 322-335) on the episode of the Gaudas (the people of Bengal) in the time of Lalitāditya When the Gauda king was treacherously killed by Lalitāditya, his servants visiting Kashmir under the pretext of pilgrimage, boldly attacked the temple of the God who had been made a surety for their master's safety They destroyed a famous silver image of Visnu, while being massacred to a man by the Kashmirian soldiery Praising 'the Gauda heroes' with whose fame the whole world was filled down to his own days, the author pays his tribute to those good old times so unlike his own 'At that time kings everywhere possessed such jewels of servants who had the power of superhuman devotion to their lord' Coming to the history of his own land Kalhana refers (V, 131 ff) in terms of the highest praise to the followers of a Prince who unsuccessfully contended with king Saṅkaravarman for the throne at the beginning of the latter's reign Disdaining the enemy's offer of wealth and honours and thinking only of their own high honour, these valiant men were killed fighting in the cause of their master With his usual sense of contrast between past glory and present degradation the author writes 'Servants were then still free from delusion and not having yet learned to imitate the conduct of dogs, proudly disdained to fight for morsels' It is doubtless in consequence of the conspicuous rarity of such instances in later times—to which his sad comments bear witness—that Kalhana takes particular care to record in his last two Books the names and deeds of those who proved their loyal devotion to the king amid the general baseness and treachery. Examples of such heroes extolled by the chronicler are the general Candrarāja and the governor

Ānanda abovementioned who were killed fighting for their lord and king Harsa during his last wars with the brothers Uccala and Sussala. On the other hand the chronicler visits with severe (and as it seems to us unmerited) scorn (VIII, 1410 ff) Harsa's faint-hearted ministers, 'those beasts of men,' who failed to exert themselves for the king during the catastrophic close of his reign Kalhana takes this opportunity to express his view of the duty of servants towards their masters The servants, he says, deserve shame, who display weakness 'when success can be achieved by the mere sacrifice of that body which is bound to decay' No one is meaner than he who, 'though a man, forgets that attachment to the master, the recollection of which makes women enter the pyre' Those who look upon the master's afflictions with indifference 'make this earth unholy, though it is hallowed by sacred places.' If a man has seen his lord overcome by the enemy, his son dying of hunger and so forth, 'then hell has for him no greater torment in store.'

To pass to other instances of devoted loyalty to the king, Kalhana, in describing the tragedy of Uccala's murder, is careful to record (VIII, 323-26) the name of a brave Rājaputra, a humble lamp-bearer and a faithful Kayastha, who vainly sacrificed their lives in attempting to defend their master On the other hand he speaks with the utmost contempt of a high-born official who 'ran away like a dog hiding his dagger just as if it were his tail Speaking of a commander-in-chief who was driven to treason by king Sussala's ingratitude, Kalhana says (VIII, 690 ff) that he would have remained unblamable if he had merely turned indifferent, but he made his name unfit for mention by his treacherous designs In this connection Kalhana gives us his own view of the heinousness of treason, as he characterises traitors as 'the greatest sinners' and again as 'worse sinners than parricides' In a later passage (VIII, 1325-27) describing the tragedy of king Sussala's murder, Kalhana conspicuously mentions one Rājaputra chieftain (who was killed fighting for his lord) as washing off the shame with his blood, while disgrace stained the whole Rājaputra tribe In the same context he singles out for honourable mention two brave Brahmans and a loyal chieftain who alone fell bravely fighting in trying to avenge their master.

With Kalhana's characteristic horror of treason it is no wonder that he should carefully record the evil precedents created by the murder of kings Referring to the slaying of the usurper who had be
taken prisoner by Cakravarman Kalhana says (V, 350) 'From that time onwards servants in disregard of the sacred law began treacherously to

murder kings who ought to be esteemed like fathers' Again, while referring to the mutilation of king Harṣa's body by the conspirators, he observes (VII, 1721-24) that 'the new fashion of cutting off the king's head' perpetuated by impious people foreboded lasting calamities as from a curse for the country.

The sentiment of personal loyalty is so strong in Kalhana that he praises it even in those who sacrificed their lives in the vain attempt to avenge their master's wrong on the king To take a few instances, Kalhaṇa in describing the tragedy of Tunga's murder, singles out for praise an attendant of the minister who, though unarmed, attempted to protect him with his body (VII, 82) He also takes care to record the names of those of Tuṅga's followers who 'brilliantly displayed the character of true servants' by trying to avenge his death (VII, 90 ff) On the other hand he refers with the utmost scorn (VII, 87 ff.) to other followers of the unfortunate minister, who 'sat still in their fright like women' or else, dropping their swords, lost both honour and life In connection with the treacherous murder of Sujji by order of Jayasimha Kalhaṇa mentions (VIII, 2154) heroic self-sacrifice of one of the murdered general's relatives as conferring merit upon his composition and he goes on to record (*Ibid* 2176) 'the noble deeds' of others of his followers In the same spirit Kalhana praises (VIII, 2319 ff) a Brahman and a Dāmara follower of Kosthesvara and his brother, who finding their masters struck down by Jayasimha's order, were killed fighting bravely to avenge his death Of the brave Brahman who 'fell down quickly upon the hero's couch, a stream of blood serving for its upper covering', Kalhana admiringly says 'He deserved to be counted among the heroes for having displayed a laudable prowess under the eyes of his masters who had fallen into misfortune and were yet alive and for having found a death worthy of envy '

That Kalhana was capable of the more refined sentiment of appreciation of patriotic sacrifice for the country's cause is proved by a number of examples already mentioned. Describing the great defeat of the allied Kashmirian and Śāhi forces at the hands of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, Kalhana, as we have seen, records (VII, 59) the names of three Kashmirian warriors who, fighting valiantly on the terrible battle-field, 'preserved the honour of their country from being lost' Again, while referring to the siege of Srinagar by the rebellious Ḍāmaras in the reign of Sussala, he makes the king conclude his spirited address to a brave companion with the noble

words already quoted. 'Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body, just as the tiger does not leave his skin without having wetted it with his blood (VIII, 1192)

True to his high appreciation of loyal devotion to the master, Kalhana repeatedly mentions with admiration, notwithstanding his dubious view of women's character, the noble ladies and women of lesser rank who heroically sacrificed themselves in the same cause Already for the ancient period we have the story (II, 56-57) of Vākpuṣṭā, the saintly Queen of Tuñjīna I, who is said to have sacrificed her life as *satī* and the place of whose cremation was still called after her name down to the chronicler's own times From this time onwards Kalhana again and again singles out for honourable mention those Queens who honoured their husband's memory by a voluntary death Even the humble attendants who performed this supreme act of devotion for their masters are mentioned with high praise Very characteristic of him is his contrast between two dancing-girls, one of whom belonging to King Kalaśa's train 'disgraced the whole of womenkind' by yielding herself after the kings death to a village official (VII, 726-28), while the other belonging to Utkarṣa's household followed him on the funeral pyre, thus displaying a noble conduct which 'makes women who are beloved by their husbands carry their heads higher even to this day ' (VII, 850-59) Equally characteristic is Kalhana's enthusiastic admiration of the noble wife of the Dāmara Kosthesvara Finding her husband lying wounded by the Kings' orders, she paid no heed to those who told her that she might yet get back her husband alive and committed suicide by entering the fire The fire itself, so runs the chronicler's tribute, was purified from its sin by the feet of her who was proceeding to the world of virtuous women, (VIII, 2336)

Appreciation of bravery

It is in consonance with Kalhana's lofty principles that he shows throughout his work high appreciation of heroic death on the battle-field in fighting even for one's own self In the evil times of the usurpation of power by the Tantrins to which we have referred above, the sons of the minister Meruvardhana made themselves particularly obnoxious by their oppression of the subjects and intrigues for seizing the royal power After sometime one of them namely Śambhuvardhana, was able to secure the throne for himself by offering the highest bribes to the Tantrins. Nevertheless Kalhana

speaks in terms of high praise of the heroism displayed by this king and his followers in their unsuccessful fight with the rightful King Cakravarman (cf. V, 336 'The valiant Samkaravardhana adorned the bed of heroes together with his dead followers of noble descent and good qualities'; *Ibid.* 337 'who did not envy the Tantrins who found in close union their success and in close union their end'). To take another instance, when describing the utter rout of the allied Kashmirian and Śāhi forces in the fight with Sultan Mahmud to which reference has been made above, Kalhana praises the illustrious Trilocanapāla' 'whom numberless enemies even could not defeat in battle,' whose 'superhuman prowess' was remembered even by the victorious Hammīra (VII, 60ff) Referring to Prince Bhoja, the dearly beloved son of King Harsa, who fell bravely fighting against his foes, Kalhana observes that he was true to a Ksatriya's duties, that destroying his assailants like a lion he fell covered with blood and adorned the couch of a hero, and lastly, that he fell in combat in a manner worthy of great heroes' envy (VII, 1655-56, 1676) The heroism displayed by King Uccala before he was overpowered by his assassins somewhat atoned, says the chronicler (VIII, 331), for the want of pity which he had shown towards the people during his life-time. Of the pretender Bhiksācara who after an eventful career was betrayed by his followers and was killed fighting bravely to the last, Kalhana says that he obtained in honour the highest place in a great host of kings, that he defied his ever adverse fate even at his end by his unbroken vigour and lastly, that though he was a beggar as compared with former kings, they were as nothing compared with him for noble death (VIII, 1768-77)

If Kalhana is lavish in his praise of heroes, he is not less full of contempt for cowards We have already noticed with what scorn he speaks of the cowardly Kashmirian and the Rājaputra soldiery who basely abandoned Sussala's body to be mutilated and carried off by the murderous traitors. Other instances have been given of the chronicler's severe censure of the Kashmirian troops who fled from the battlefield in cowardly panic In other passages Kalhana visits with equal scorn the remissness of faint-hearted ministers and other high officials When Sussala towards the close of Harsa's reign captured Vijayeśvara after defeating and killing the king's brave general, he found, says the chronicler (VII, 1504ff), the multitude of 'Rājaputras, horsemen, Tantrins and feudatories' as well as the chiefs and officers assembled in the temple courtyard 'like frightened animals'. Mercifully promising safety to the cowardly gang who prostrated themselves at his

feet, Sussala had their arms bound with ropes and made them over to the Ḍāmaras 'as one hands cattle to herdsmen'. The two leading officers, 'the weak Paṭṭa' and 'the treacherous Darśanapāla' forgot the little decency they had shown by desiring to go abroad. To take another instance, while describing the panicky flight of the royal troops in a night attack by rebels in Jayasiṃha's reign, Kalhaṇa disdains to mention names and he contents himself with saying (VIII, 188), 'There was not a single minister there who did not fling away courage and flee like a beast.'

Kalhaṇa's impartiality of judgment

Not the least of Kalhaṇa's merits as a historian is the impartiality of his judgment on the multitude of characters noticed in his work. This attitude in sharp contrast with the literary convention requiring unqualified eulogy of his hero on the part of the *Kavi*, does honour to the author's sterling honesty and independence of character In truth Kalhaṇa 's the only known Sanskrit poet who not only enjoyed no royal patronage but also appears to have been actually in disfavour at the royal court at the time of composition of his work (For the arguments see Stein I, *Introd* pp. 17ff). One consequence of this independent position was Kalhaṇa's detached attitude towards recent and contemporary characters as well as those of the past In the introductory verses of his work the author strikes a refreshing note when he says (I, 7) That noble-minded poet alone is worthy of praise whose words like that of a judge keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past ' How faithfully Kalhana follows this noble ideal throughout his work can be illustrated from a number of examples given above We have seen (above, pp 305, 311) how he faithfully, though reluctantly records the pious foundations of evil kings and their ministers, while on the other hand he makes no secret of the weaknesses of admittedly able and good rulers. It is especially in his treatment of recent and contemporary characters (above, pp. 327ff) that his impartial attitude is, clearly manifested. Thus although Kalhana could not but have been grateful to Harṣa for the favour shown to his family, he apportions praise and blame with equal impartiality to the king's character Uccala, Harṣa's successful rival, is praised as we have seen for his energy and resolution, his solicitude for his people's welfare and piety, but his harshness of speech and other defects meet with just and severe censure Sussala, while getting full credit for his good qualities, is strongly condemned for his cruel exactions and his sense-

less persecutions of Ḍāmaras and officials. In his account of the contemporary king Jayasimha Kalhaṇa finds it necessary to give him a certain amount of conventional praise which, however, does not ignore the mixture of good and bad qualities in his character. In his subsequent narrative, while giving specific instances of the king's resolution and cunning diplomacy as well as piety, Kalhaṇa quotes other instances pointing to his weakness for evil counsels, his want of judgment, his lack of comprehension and so forth. In the same context Kalhaṇa gives us with equal impartiality the lights and shades of the character of Bhikṣācara, the most dangerous adversary of the reigning king as well as of his father and uncle. The pretender's failure as king Kalhana shows us, was brilliantly redeemed by his subsequent exhibition of extraordinary ability and skill in fighting and finally by his 'noble death' in his last fight with his enemies. (A striking instance of the impartiality and independence of Kalhaṇa's judgments is furnished by the contrast between his characterisations and the conventional praises of a number of Kashmirian kings, queens and princes—Ananta, Subhaṭā, Kṣitipati, Kalaśa, Utkarṣa, Harsa and Vijayamalla—in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkacarita*, XVIII, 33ff.)

Kalhana as a critical historian

Gifted with great narrative powers and capable of just and impartial judgment, Kalhana attains but slight success as a critical historian. At the beginning of his work, as we have seen, he explains clearly the defective character of historical studies of his native land and he consciously sets before himself the object of removing the defects. In this connection he gives a list of his sources consisting of eleven older chronicles (five of which are mentioned by name), inscriptions of three different kinds and technical treatises. From the internal evidence of his work we learn that the chronicler also utilised the evidence of coins, of living tradition and of eye-witnesses. Not only does Kalhana give us a list of sources which for its variety and importance is sufficiently exhaustive, he also criticises two of the older chroniclers (Suvrata and Kṣemendra), although in very general terms. Again, in the course of his narrative Kalhana refers from time to time discrepant reports or popular rumours about specific events of the past and in two instances he quotes alternative views only to refute them. (Examples of discrepant reports mentioned by the chronicler are those relating to the end of Mihirakula I, 309-17, and of Lalitāditya IV, 367-70, VII, 1428-50, the betrayal of Harṣa VII, 1691-95, the flight of Bhikṣācara from Uccala's

palace VIII, 224-233). The two instances of his rejection of alternative views are concerned with the identity (II, 6) of Vikramāditya, whose relative Pratāpāditya I reigned after the extinction of the Gonanda dynasty, and with the cause of Yaśaskara's death (V, 108-112).

To the credit of Kalhaṇa must also be mentioned his frequent analysis of motives of his actors expressed graphically in the form of soliloquies and orations. Thus Avantivarman at the beginning of his reign, is made to indulge in a self-reflection on the vanity of earthly greatness, which leads him to distribute his valuables among Brahmans 'with his own hands as a porridge' V, 5-15. Prince Uccala, rising in revolt against Harṣa, delivers a bold speech at the court of Rājapurī vindicating before his treacherous host his claim to the throne VII, 1282ff. Harṣa, dispirited by the success of the rebels, addresses his ministers in a long speech justifying his decision to court death. Speaking of his aims and their tragic failure, he says that his motive in seeking self-destruction is not the fear of death but that of disgrace attending his reputation at the hands of his unworthy rivals VII, 1416ff. In a few cases, again, the author, while fully sharing the Hindu belief in the omnipotence of fate traces historical events to their proximate and rational causes. Thus Jayāpīḍa's sudden change from an ambitious conqueror into an oppressor is ascribed directly to the advice of Kāyasthas, IV 621. The attainment of royal dignity by Yaśaskara 'who was not of royal descent and had wandered over the earth as a pauper' is said to have been possible only through the mad Avanti's extermination of his own family and ousting of the latter's child by the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana, V, 479-480.

Reference may be made, in the next place, to the historical generalisations which Kalhaṇa notwithstanding his belief in the working of fate and of the deeds of previous births, draws from time to time from his study of historical facts. Thus in criticising the infructuous attempt of the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana to obtain the throne by diplomacy after failing to snatch it by force when within his immediate reach, Kalhaṇa teaches (V, 459-60), as Stein has already shown, the necessity in politics of the quick realisation of the opportune moment and of boldness in seizing it. Again, in commenting on Jayasimha's preparations for his expedition against the Sirahśilā castle he observes (VIII, 2522-23) that failure must result from over-estimating the enemy's resources and undue deliberations in coming into grips with him. Of considerable local interest is what Stein (I, *Intro-*

duction, p. 37) aptly calls 'the little code of administrative wisdom put into the mouth of king Lalitāditya as a kind of political testament.' In that brief extract (IV, 344ff) giving in abstract the principles of government adapted to the king's own country is contained what Kalhana evidently believed to be the quintessence of Kashmirian administrative policy. The principles here inculcated are firstly, constant necessity of watchfulness against internal dissensions while ignoring foreign enemies against whom Kashmir is fortified by nature. Next comes the desirability of punishing the mountain tribes 'even if they gave no offence,' for if allowed to acquire wealth they would become very formidable in the shelter of their mountain fastnesses. Then follows the Machiavallian advice not to leave the villagers more food-supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields. For otherwise they would become in a short time very formidable Dāmaras capable of resisting the king's orders. In conclusion are stressed other valuable lessons of state-craft like the necessity of guarding the strong places, of selecting the troops from different districts, of preventing a too close union between official families and so forth.

Kalhana's sense of historic justice is well illustrated in his account of the reign of Śamkaravarman which he takes to be a good illustration of the dictum (V, 211) that 'those kings who do evil to their subjects have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, nay even their name, destroyed in a moment.' For not only did 'this king of wicked conduct' lose a number of his children by the people's curse, but alone among kings he had the misfortune of disappearance of the name given to his own town. A still more remarkable instance is furnished by the author's striking reflections (VIII, 1951-1961) on the squandering of Sussala's treasures in the Lohara fort by the usurper Mallārjuna. Illustrating his dictum that the wealth which kings acquire by oppressing subjects must fall a prey to rivals or enemies or fire, the author quotes the fate of the royal treasures of Jayāpīda, Śamkaravarman, Pangu (Nirjitavarman), Yaśaskara, Ksemagupta, Samgrāmarāja, Ananta, Kalaśa and Harsa. By way of contrast the author observes that the lawfully acquired riches of Candrāpīda, Uccala, Avantivarman and other kings were never destroyed by improper uses.

In the above we have given a number of illustrations to prove Kalhana's approach towards the position of a critical historian. In other respects however, he falls far short of the standard required for modern historical scholarship. To make a list of his omissions, we may well begin with the

chronicler's failure to estimate the value of his sources, to quote his authorities for important statements, to give and decide between different versions and so forth More serious is his failure, to which we have referred above, to recognise the great gulf that separates his ancient or semi-legendary, from his modern or historical period His account of ancient kings and dynasties is embellished with local and other legends about the authenticity of which he has no doubt, while his record of the victorious exploits of Lalitāditya and other early kings extending to the furthest limits of India is based on evident good faith Kalhana evidently was not one of those sceptics of his time who, as he says (VII, 1137-38), were 'swayed by doubts in regard to the miraculous deeds of Meghavāhana and other ancient kings', for he puts these miraculous deeds on the same level with 'the astonishing misdeeds' of the historical king Harsa

Another blemish of which mention may be made in the present place is the chronicler's belief in the operation of supernatural factors on historical events Again and again he mentions as sober historical facts the slaying of kings and others by witchcraft (for references see Stein I, *Introd* p 31, *n* 9) Reference may also be made in this connection to the author's beliefs in omens and portents (See Stein, *loc cit*, p 37, *n* 32 for references)

While drawing from the history of his native land the occasional lessons of state-craft to which we have referred above, Kalhana most often takes the striking historical events to illustrate or justify fundamental Hindu concepts or at any rate maxims of general morality Among these conceptions we may mention in the first place the influence of the acts of past life on the present existence To take a few instances, the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana's failure to seize the throne when it was within his grasp is attributed to his bad policy or else to 'acts done in a previous existence (V, 456ff) The usurper Parvagupta's death in a *tīrtha* is ascribed to 'some former merits which had not lost their efficacy' (VI, 147) The plunder of Kashmir by some oppressive officials in the reign of Abhimanyu is the result of 'the sins which this land had accumulated, (VI, 288) The appointment of 'the low-born, mean Kāyastha' Bhadreśvara as his assistant by Tuṅga takes place 'when the merits of his former existence were exhausted' (VII, 37). Kalaśa's sudden change from a voluptuary and oppressor into a vigilant guardian of his subjects' welfare is due to 'the rise in the subjects' fortune caused by their previous merits' (VII, 506) Harsa's escape from assassination at the hands of his aggrieved subjects is due to his having a balance of

life-period still left to him or else 'the sinfulness of his subjects' (VII, 1140-41).

Connected with the above is the author's oft-repeated assurance of the omnipotence of fate in the ruling of historical events. It is by the will of fate that the minister Tunga is kept in office by the king against his wish (VII, 7) and the attempts of rebels to drive him out turned to his own glory (VII, 28). It is by the same inscrutable cause that he was led to leave for the palace to meet his doom at the hands of conspirators (VII, 79). The rapid and complete overthrow of the noble House of the Śāhis is due to fate which 'effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach' (VII, 67). The will of fate makes king Utkarṣa commit the fatal mistake of exchanging the ring which is to be the signal for prince Harṣa's murder (VII 803). The sorry plight of a pretender who after being honoured by neighbouring chiefs found a mean employment in the royal camp in Uccala's time gives the chronicler the occasion for his striking statement 'Man's effort resembles a fire in the grass, which by the wind of fate is made to flame up in one place even when subdued and to go out in another even if kindled' (VIII 220). The tame submission of the brave Dāmara Gargacandra to arrest and imprisonment by king Sussala is ascribed to the will of fate 'which makes a person in this world move about without free will, just like a puppet pulled by a row of strings' (VIII 607). To the same mysterious cause is attributed the defeat of Sussala 'the foremost of the all-powerful' at the hands of rebels (VIII, 669-71), as also the fatal delusion which led this most vigilant of kings to give his complete confidence to a double-faced traitor who ended by murdering him in his palace (VIII 1276-78). The omnipotence of fate is expressed in another striking passage, 'Fate, whose most wonderful power cannot even be imagined in a moment, makes a man fall who stands firmly and raises another who is about to fall, just as the current of a river washes away one river-bank and raises another' (VIII, 1401).

In trying to account for the serious defects of the chronicler to which we have just drawn attention, it is well to remember at the outset that the legendary and anecdotal character along with the bare dynastic lists of his ancient history was probably due in a large measure to the defective character of his sources. In these sources, as Stein (I, *Introd* p 29) well shows by the analogy of the later Persian summaries of Kashmir history based on the ***Rājataraṅgiṇī***, the truly historical facts must have been gradually eliminated,

while the legends and anecdotes receive an increasing measure of attention. To another local cause *viz*, the geographical isolation of Kashmir we may ascribe with Stein (*Ibid*, p. 30) that exaggerated sense of importance of the chronicler's own land which is manifest in his description of the world-conquests of Lalitāditya and other kings. The same local factor probably accounts, as Stein (*loc cit*) thinks, for the large part which supernatural agencies play in Kalhaṇa's narrative of historical events. For the people of Kashmir down to modern times have been specially 'a *gens religiosissima* Other defects in Kalhaṇa's critical treatment of his subject to which reference has been made above, are ascribed by Stein to more general causes about which there is room for difference of opinion Thus in the first place, Kalhaṇa's uncritical chronology for the ancient times is taken (Stein, *Introd* p 32) to vindicate the oft-quoted verdict of the illustrious Muslim scholar Alberuni Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss what to say they invariably take to tale-telling' But this somewhat sweeping judgment does not certainly apply to Kalhaṇa's long list of kings at least from the commencement of the Utpala dynasty onwards It applies least of all to his record of recent history with its frequent succession of dated events and presumably also to the period immediately preceding In the next place Stein explains Kalhaṇa's *naive* faith in the legends of the Great War of the *Mahābhārata* and the marvellous stories of the early kings of his native land in the light of the characteristic Hindu view of history which may best be stated in his own words as follows (*Introd* p 29) 'The Indian mind has never learned to divide mythology and legendary tradition from true history . The products of religious imagination and epic fiction thus retain a matter-of-fact aspect even for the learned That spirit of doubt does not arise which alone can teach how to separate tradition from historic truth, to distinguish between the facts and the reflection they have left in the popular mind Still less can we expect that the changes implied by historical development should be noted and understood ' We may, however, point out that uncritical faith in the ancient heroic legends is by no means confined to the Indian mind of past or present times We may well match such *naive* credulity with the unquestioned belief in the legends of the Trojan War and the like which has been the characteristic of the historians of Greece and Rome till

comparatively recent times. In making the above observation, Stein appears to us to have been hardly alive to a true sense of historical perspective.

General estimate of Kalhaṇa's work

In concluding our estimate of Kalhana as a historian we must remember at the outset the limited scope of his subject. The *Rājataranginī* is wanting in the interest belonging to the rise and fall of a great empire, the conflict of different races and civilizations or the continuous development of internal institutions. In truth it is concerned with the fortunes of a small kingdom which, protected by its mountain-walls, most often stood aloof from the great historical currents that swept over the rest of India. Even the tremendous invasions of the Houses of Ghazna and Ghor which brought the greater part of Northern India under the rule of the Muslim Turks left the Happy Valley under the secure rule of its Hindu princes. The promise of internal consolidation and peaceful progress under the kings of the early historical period was cut short by the misrule of kings and the un-ending rebellions of pretenders and Ḍāmaras in later times The dreary succession of court-intrigues, conspiracies and rebellions forms the bulk of Kalhana's volume dealing with recent and contemporary history.

It speaks much for Kalhaṇa's qualifications as a historian that he has succeeded in imparting a high degree of interest to his theme The chronicler's attempt to introduce order and precision into the loose chronology and traditional history of the earlier dynasties was, from want of authentic material, foredoomed to failure On the other hand Kalhana has given us for the historical period a wonderful picture of his native land which gains continually in historical accuracy and completeness from the beginning of the Kārkota dynasty (Book IV) onwards Among authors of historical Kāvyas Kalhana occupies a unique position, as we have said above, by virtue of his knowledge of military science, his exact topography and genealogical statements, his attention to chronology, the individuality of his wonderful series of historical portraits, his impartial judgment on the characters of the past as well as the present and lastly, his approach towards historical criticism. In these respects Kalhana may have had a few forgotten predecessors, but beyond doubt he left no successors.

U N. GHOSHAL

MISCELLANY

Tamil Śaiva Mystic Poets in Medieval South India

From a study of what we may call half-mystic poets we can turn our attention to the pronouncedly mystic poets of Tamil and who have left behind a rich legacy of religious literature overflowing with the milk of unadulterated devotion The beginning of the seventh century marked the advent of a new era in the history of South Indian religion We have the unmistakable authority of the inscriptions to show that the Jains, of whom the name of Vajranandi is prominently mentioned, have firmly established themselves in the Tamilagam and founded a *Dravida Sanga* The institution of the Sanga was a blessing in disguise to the Tamils The Jains took more and more interest in the Tamil literature and culture and Jaina authors cultivated the language with much more keenness and avidity and produced literature of the type of *Jivakacintāmani* the beauties of which are universally admired in the Tamil land We shall speak in the sequel in detail the contribution of the Jains to Tamil literature Mention has already been made that Nāladiyar which follows the Tirukkural in several respects is, according to the Jaina tradition, the first product of the *Dravida Sangam* Even the author of the Tirukkural is claimed to be a Jaina Similarly the Buddhists also spread over the length and breadth of the Tamil nādu, and had their contribution to enrich the Tamil literature

The rise of Jains and Buddhists in larger numbers and the popularity of their literature among the masses, and their patronage by the ruling chieftains of the land led to an intense movement whose object it was to revive the old religion and establish it firmly in the Tamil land This movement which was a fight to preserve the cherished and hallowed traditions of the Tamil land was launched by the Nāyanmāras and Ālvārs with great zeal and a new burning enthusiasm The fight was not a bloody one which was a characteristic feature of religious wars in the history of Europe and other countries It was a wordy warfare, and the success depended upon learned disputations and disquisitions in which the reigning kings of the land took no insignificant part These Nāyanmārs and Ālvārs went about the whole of the Tamil land and visited the principal sacred shrines and sang hymns in

honour of those shrines. They carried with them the torch of the established religion—Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism—flashing the masses with its light.

Among the works in Tamil held as canonical by the Śaivites, the Tevāram occupies a unique place. As we generally speak of the first three Ālvārs, it is a custom to speak of the Tevāram trio, and these were Tirujñānasambandar or Sambandar, Tirunāvakkaraśu Nāyanār or Appar and Sundaramūrtisvāmigal or Sundarar. These reformers lived in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. and hymned songs in praise of Śiva, quite adapted to Indian tunes and in metres peculiar to that class of literature Some of these hymns were ordered by kings to be sung in temples in their daily service even during the time of these Nāyanmārs. These Nāyanmārs were soon canonised, and their sculptures began to adorn many a Śiva temple of the period. The collected hymns of these three Nāyanmārs come to 797 stanzas, and it was given to one Nambi Āndār Nambi to systematise and compile them like Vyāsa of ancient times, in an accepted and acceptable order. Some scholars believe that this was done about 1000 A D while others put it a little earlier

Speaking on the hymns themselves, we find in them a sweet and at the same time serene atmosphere prevailing These are devotional outpourings under the influence of passion and emotion One can find subtle differences in this melodious outburst of tuneful accents It has been well said[1] that Sambandar's hymns represent the dawn, Appar's and Sundarar's represent the noon and the evening. The hymns of Māṇikkavāśagar represent the night of the day In other words, the hymns of the four Nāyanmārs including Māṇikkavāśagar represent the four divisions of a day Sambandar's songs possess the radiance of the dawn, Appar's the dazzling splendour of the noon, Sundaramūrti's the serenity and composure of the evening and Māṇikkavāśagar's the hushed and soothing sweetness of the night. The hymns of these four Nāyanmārs, it may be also said, explain the four stages of life process. Sambandar's is that of an innocent child, Appar's of a grown-up adult, Sundarar's of a lover and Māṇikkavāśagar of an anchorite These song hymns are full of life and colour, and the philosophy underlying them is all theism.[2]

All the Tevāram hymns are in glorification of Śiva, the different forms

1 See Intro to K S Ramaswami Sastri's *Śaiva Nayanmars*
2 *Ibid*

in which He manifested Himself at different periods of time Generallly He is described in human form wearing hides of tiger and elephant, and garlands of skulls Reference to his dances is also common. The songs are replete with the heroic exploits of the Lord, of which the Purānas are full. The conception of the Jotir lingam or pillar of fire is brought out in many a hymn. It is said that Śiva assumed this form of a pillar whose height and depth Brahmā and Visnu could not find in spite of persistent search The swallowing of poison produced by the churning of ocean for nectar which earned him the name of Nīlakantha, the burning of the three castles of the Asuras (Tripuradāhana) suspended from the Heavens and the quelling of Rāvana's overweening pride are often the subject of praise at the hands of these Nāyanmārs.[3]

The four Śaiva Samayācāryas

1. Sambandar

I have elsewhere given a life-sketch of these four Śaiva mystics[4] It is not, therefore, necessary to traverse the same ground here But it would not be out of place to review them here supplementing the information already furnished Sambandar was a child saint. His hymns comprise the first three *Tirumurais*, all full of musical accents In these hymns we find a complete transformation in language and style The classical style of the Sangam works has become a thing of the past. Even in the language of the *antātis*, one notices perceptible change Material changes are effected in the hymns of the Tevāram It is said that we have as many as one hundred varieties of metre in the poetry of Sambandar. The following remarks of the late Professor Sundaram Pillai are worth quoting in this connection "Even considered as a poet he has more than ordinary claims to be remembered His hymns of which 384 patigams or more than 19000 lines are now extant, are models of pure and elevated diction, generally earnest and touching, but always melodious and well tuned Most of them appear to have been uttered *impromptu*, and all of them being lyrical are set to music. The original tunes are now mostly forgotten They are lost

3 See also Intro to *Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints* by F Kingsbury & G. E Phillips (Heritage of India Series)

4 V R R Dikshitar *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*—Second Edn Madras University

in the later airs introduced by the Aryan musicians of the north. Taken all in all, Sambandar must be put down as a true and great Tamil poet, certainly the greatest in the lyrical department' Sambandar's chief activity was to put down the Jaina faith and its leaders It may be said without any fear of contradiction that his propaganda went far to arrest the march of Jainism in the Tamil land.

2. Appar

Proceeding to examine the next Nāyanār, Appar, who has been well termed the peasant mystic The sculptured portraits of Appar now found in India and Ceylon always show him carrying a kind of instrument in his hands It resembles in shape the plough Tradition affirms that whenever Appar went to the shrines, he invariably took the instrument with him There he went on clearing the floor, of the grass, and the walls, of the weeds, due to neglect of the temple servants for years together He thought that it was a good piece of service which he could render to the God enshrined in such temples which he had the honour and the privilege to visit It is not necessary to give the names of all the temples, but suffice it to say that he visited as many as one hundred and thirty-two shrines That our saint looked upon agriculture and husbandry as the noblest of of professions is seen from his verses which are full of what one may call agricultural lore In religion he is preeminently a theist He regards the God as the Absolute and Transcendant His contributions which are the passionate outpourings at the different temples he visited are evidences of his unparalleled mastery over the Tamil language That was why he was called Nāvukkarāśu (lit the king of the tongue). His poems comprise three *Tirumurais* which consist of about 300 poems Each is of ten stanzas of four lines unlike the parigams of Sambandar which generally consist of 11 or 12 stanzas of which the last is always a benedictory one His poetry is full of lyric charm and it appears that this saint did not attach much weight to the form of the verse but paid scrupulous attention to the effect which would produce on the reader or the hearer,—the effect of euphony.

3. Sundaramūrti

The next saint accepted in the traditional order is Sundarmūrti svāmigal That the Jains and Buddhists continued to flourish during his age is evident from his hymns where he speaks of them in disparaging terms. In fact the eleventh verse of every patigam is devoted to a condemnation of these here-

tical sects. His song hymns form the seventh *Tirumurai* and are about a hundred in number These are uniformly characterised by pathos and piety combined with a majesty of melody. There is a freshness and charm about the poems He is greatly remembered for his work *Tiruttondattogai*

The story about *Tiruttondattogai* is that when the saint Sundarar was entering the temple of Tiruvārūr for worshipping Śiva in the inner shrine, he paid no heed to the Bhaktas who were (evidently incorporeally) in the Devāśrayan Mandapam This was resented by them and so Śiva asked Sundarar to go back and sing in praise of them The song which he thus sang was Tiruttondattogai This was the same material which was worked up into the *Periya Purānam* later (10th or 11th century A D) by Śekkilār Nāyanār But for the later work (based upon Sundarar's song) there would have been no knowledge about the sixty-three special Bhaktas of Śiva called 63 Nayanmars, and the worship of Śiva in South Indian shrines could not have developed its special characteristics Further, the development of Śaivism in South India might have been on different lines It is thus Sundarar's song (Tiruttondattogai) is the foundation stone upon which was built a very large part of the superb edifice of South Indian Śaivism

4 Mānikkavāśagar

Of all the Śaiva saints the name of Mānikkavāśagar has attained a great popularity and every Tamil home of the Śaiva denomination is familiar with his name and poems The *Tiruvāśagam* has been canonised, and its fifty-one poems are sung during times of prayer in all Śaiva temples in the Tamil land The late Rev G U Pope has done a great service to advance Tamil culture by his edition with translation of that immortal work the pride and solace of all Tamil Śaivas (Oxford, 1900) He has expressed it as his opinion that Mānikkavāśagar has been profoundly influenced by the doctrines of the *Bhagavad Gīta*, and in his poems Śiva takes the place of 'Krsna (Intro p xxxvi)

In the *Tiruvāśagam* we meet with as many as fourteen metres, and these are classified under venbā, kalīpa, āśiriyam and viruttam Venbā is a relic of the Sangam productions Kalipa is that characterised by quick rhythm and there is no restriction in the number of feet. Āśiriyam is aphoristic metre of which three varieties are distin-

5 For details see Pope *op cit*, pp lxxxviii to xcii

guished Viruttam consists of stanzas, mostly quartrains varying from four feet to eight feet.[5] This only demonstrates the progress of Tamil language and literature in the march of time. Before we close we may say a word about his achievements. With him the revival of Śaivism was complete No more could its foundations be shaken. His teachings may be said to anticipate the glorious system of the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy of which we shall have occasion to refer in a future issue of the Journal.

There is a peculiar interest that is attached to the place of this saint in the history of South Indian Śaivism One thing is certain and that is that Māṇikkavāśagar is not one of the 63 Nāyanmārs He stands on a separate pedestal. Even Appar, in spite of his spiritual eminence, kept worship and service of the God as his supreme ideal. Māṇikkavāśagar lived on a different mystical plane He aspired for unification with Śiva,[6] and he successfully realised his aspiration His songs bear unmistakable evidences of the different degrees of delight experienced by him in his onward march along the road of self-realisation

A dispassionate study of the Tevāram and allied literature of the period in Tamil demonstrates beyond doubt how the Purāṇic Hinduism had got established in South India in the early centuries of the Christian era The glorification of Śiva and the numerous references to his acts and deeds are all based on the accounts elaborately furnished by what are called Śaiva Purāṇas. The Vedic faith, where gods of nature were the principal deities of worship and prayer, had yielded place to the new faith adumbrated in the Purāṇas This new faith took the shape of offering one's prayers to Śiva and Viṣṇu, and their consorts and sons, even to their relatives The movement of the Nāyanmārs, as also that of the Ālvārs, as we shall see later, was the resultant consequence of the Purāṇic wave of Hinduism which spread itself out in all India

V R RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

6 cittantanaiccivamākki yenaiyānda

Śabdabhedaprakāśaṭīkā by Jñānavimalagaṇi

(composed in A D 1598)

The *Śabdabhedaprakāśa* is a small dictionary of nouns which, though identical in meaning, differ in their spelling It is composed by Maheśvara, the celebrated author of *Viśvaprakāśa* Jñānavimalagaṇi who belonged to the Kharataragaccha line of Jain priests wrote a commentary on this work. This commentary aims at giving the derivation of every word in the text and tries to give the etymology of the words wherever possible

The commentator begins his work by offering his salutations to Śāntinātha and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. Next he pays honour to Abhayadevasūri, Jinadattasūri and Jinakuśalasūri. He then proceeds to mention some of his authorities on which he has based his commentary These authorities are *Viśvaprakāśa, Bhāguri, Vaijayantī, Vyāḍi, Śāśvata* and the *Pathyāpathyanighantu*[1] Apart from these authorities Jñānavimala quotes numerous works and authors in his commentary The following is the list[2] of authors and works quoted by him·—

अजय, fol 12^b, 74^a, 79^b, 80^a, 90^b etc
अनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्य, 2^a
अमर, 26^b 28^a, 32^b, 34^b, 40^b, 46^b, 49^b, 58^a, 71^a etc
अमरटीका, 18^a, 95^b, 96^b, 97^a
अरुण, 79, 79^b, 80^b, 81^a, 82^a
इन्द्रव्याकरण, 2^a, 4^a
एकाक्षरकोश, 60^a
कविकल्पद्रुम, 3^b, 28^b, 37^a, 48^a, 77^a
कविराज, 28^a
कात्य, 46^b, 71^b
कात्यायनाचार्य, 1^b
कालापव्याकरण, 2
कालिदास, 2^b
क्षीरस्वामी, 5^b, 10^a, 18^a, 25^a, 51^b
गौड, 18^b, 21^b, 23^a, 25^b, 33^a, 38^a, 46^a, 70^a, 74^b, 77^b etc.
चन्द्रगोमी, 59^a
दुर्ग, 31^a, 77^b, 78^b, 79^b, 80^a 80^b, 82^a etc.
देवनन्दी, 94^a 96^a
धनपाल, 2^b
धातुपाठवृत्ति, 31^a
नन्दी, 77, 78^a, 78^b, 79^b, 82^b
निघण्टु, 91^a, 96^a
नैरुक्ता:, 16^b
पाणिनि, 20^a
पाणिनीयसूत्र 13^b 43^b
बीजकोश, 85^a
बुद्धिसागराः, 78^b, 79^a, 79^b, 81^b, 82^a

1 Cf. विश्वप्रकाशभागुरिविजयंतव्याडिशाश्वतादीनाम् ।
शास्त्राणि वीक्ष्य पथ्यापथ्याभिधसन्निघण्टुं च ॥४॥ etc

2 This list is prepared from Ms no 100 of A 1883-84 of the Govt Mss Collection at the Bhadarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

भागुरि, 5b, 18b, 27b, 33a
भारत, 60a
भाष्यकार, 61b
भोज, 91a
मङ्ख, 31a, 35a, 37b, 45a, 48b, 65a, 82b
मनु, 8a, 24b, 74a, 75
माघ, 2b, 40b
माला, 70a, 70b 78a, 79a, 79b, 80a etc
मालाकार, 79b
मुग्धबोधव्याकरण, 2a
मौलिः, 9
रत्नकोश, 92b
वररुचि, 2b
वर्णविवेक, 28a
वाचस्पति, 13a, 21a, 35a, 54a,
61, 61b, 72a, 76a, 78b etc
वामन, 78b, 79a, 85b
विक्रमादित्यकोश, 28a
वैजयन्ती, 9a, 9b, 11a, 51a, 54a,
61a, 70a, 73a, 76b etc
वैजयन्तीकार, 18b, 19a, 36a, 45b
वोपदेव, 2a
वोपालित, 21b, 77b, 88a
व्याडि, 5b, 58a
शब्दानुशासनवृत्ति, 2a
शाकटायनाचार्याः, 2a, 78a, 82a, 83a
शाश्वत, 13a, 82b, 93a
सारस्वतीप्रक्रिया, 2a
सिद्धहेमचन्द्र, 2a
हर्ष, 2b, 79a, 80a, 82a
हर्षवृत्ति, 92b
हारावलि, 26b
हेमचन्द्र, 2a, 20a, 31a
हैमव्याकरण, 13

In the concluding portion of his commentary Jñānavimala gives his own spiritual lineage Prof Peterson has summarized the Praśasti given by Jñānavimalagani, in the following lines 'He begins with the rise of the Kharatara sect, which he places in the year 1080 after Vikrama = A D 1024 Jineśvara overthrew the Caityavāsins in the assembly convened by king Durlabha. To the same gana belonged Abhayadevasūri, the author of commentaries on the nine angas beginning with the Sthānānga and the saint whose prayers brought forth the famed Cambay image of the Tīrthankara Pārśvanātha He was succeeded by Jinavallabhācarya, the author of a work on *karma* and many other books He was succeeded by Jinadattasūri From Jinadattasūri the list goes after a break to Jinamānikyasūri, whose successor was Jinacandrasūri of the Rīhada race, who obtained from Akbar the title of Yugapradhāna Devendrasūri and Jinasimhasūri were contemporaries of Jinacandrasūri, and Jñānavimala, the author of this book, one of his many pupils."[3]

Jñānavimala compposed his commentary at Vikramapura i e Bikaner when Rājasimha[4] was ruling there The date of composition of the work as

3 Peterson, *A Second Report of Operations in search of Sanskrit Mss in the Bombay Circle for 1883-84*, p 65

4 This Rājasimha seems to be identical with Rāi Simha, the ruler of Bikaner

given by the author is, Sunday, the 2nd day of the dark half of the month Āsādha of the Saṃvat year 1654.' This date corresponds to Sunday, the 9th July 1598[6] The verses in which the name of the author's patron and the date of composition are mentioned, are as follows:—

श्रीमद्विक्रमनगरे राजच्छ्रीराजसिंहनृपराज्ये ।
सश्लोकचक्रवाकप्रमोदसूर्योदये सम्यक् ॥२४॥
चतुराननवदनेन्द्रियरसवसुधासंमिते लसद्वर्षे ।
श्रीमद्विक्रमनृपतो निक्रान्तेनीव कृतहर्षे ॥२५॥
शुभोपयोगे शुभयोगयुक्ते चरे द्वितीयादिवसेतिशुद्धे ।
आषाढमासस्य विशुद्धपक्षे पुष्यर्क्षसंयुक्तगभस्तिवारे ॥२८॥ etc

M. M Paikar

Siege and Surrender of Ranthambhor, 1569 A. D.

According to the *Akbarnāma*, Ranthambhor was surrendered in 1569 A D by its Governor Surjan Hādā as the result of the intercession of Akbar's courtiers and high officers. Dissatisfied with this summary account, Smith quotes Tod's detailed story from the *Annals of Būndī*, remarking that "the story is so remarkable and throws so much light upon Akbar's Rajput policy that it is worth while to transcribe" its condensed version "at considerable length"[2] With a view to deciding the historical value of this account we reproduce it here, with some slight omissions, from Smith's *Akbar, the Great Mogul*[3]

"Ranthambhor was an early object of Akbar's attention who besieged it in person He had been some time before it without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwāndās of Āmber and his son Rājā Mān determined

and the son of Kalyāna Singh, who died in 1571 Rāi Singh was the first Rājā of Bikaner and one of Akbar's most distinguished generals He gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Salim (afterwards the emperor Jahangir), built the main fort of Bikaner, and died in 1611 (vide *Rajputana Gazetteer*, 1908, vol III, B p 85)

5 Prof Peterson has wrongly read the chronogram to mean 1694 This is due to the mistake made by him in taking the word 'इन्द्रिय' as representing 'nine' instead of as 'five,' *ibid*, p 85

6 Vide S Pillai *Indian Ephemeris*, 1922 vol V p 599

1 Vol II, pp 494-497 2 Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul* p 98

3 Pp 98-99 I have at places slightly changed the wording of Smith's version with a view to making it shorter

to use their influence to make Surjan Hādā faithless to his pledge—to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor. Rajput courtesy obtained Raja Mān access to the castle, and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-bearer. An uncle of the Rāo recognised Akbar. Akbar, however, did not lose his presence of mind, and Rājā Mān asked Surjan to leave the Rāṇā, and to become the servant of the King with high honours and office. The proferred bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without enquiry on furnishing the customary contingent and liberty to name any other terms.

"A treaty was accordingly drawn up on the spot granting the Hāḍās exemption from all practices regarded as derogatory by the Hindus."

The above account does not, no doubt, conflict with the summary facts related by Abul Fazl But that it is nevertheless unreliable would be obvious enough to those reading the *Surjancarit*, a contemporary work which being written by the order of Surjan Hāḍā, the Governor of Ranthambhor in 1569, and with materials supplied by him, must be regarded as our best Hindu source regarding the siege and surrender of Ranthambhor We reproduce its account here, divesting it of all poetical exaggeration and conventional description —

"Having conquered the rest of the earth, Akbar, the Emperor of Delhi, tried to acquire Ranthambhor, the capital of Surjan Thirteen times the Rajputs beat back the Muslims. The next time, however, the Mughal army was led by the Emperor himself Surjan was not at the time in the fort But as soon as he heard that the fort had been besieged, he marched out from Paṭṭanapura with a large force to relieve his stronghold He succeeded in getting there without much difficulty and the very next day gave battle to the Mughal army which consisted not merely of cavalry and elephants but also of an efficient park of artillery The fight was of the most furious character But towards evening the enemy appeared to be gaining the upper hand, so Surjan himself led an attack and that with such effect that Akbar had to appeal to his commanders to stop somehow the victorious advance of this redoubtable Rajput warrior. They killed Surjan's horse, cut his bow-string and pierced his armour But even then he fought on with nothing but his trusty sword left to himself, and Akbar was constrained to admire this courage and bravery of his gallant enemy. At this stage evening supervened So the Emperor retired to his camp and Surjan to the fort.

"The next day when Surjan was getting ready to sally out again with his force, a *saciva* of the Emperor reached the gate of the fort. He was well received and delivered the following message,

"Pleased with your bravery, the Emperor rewards you with the territories lying adjacent to the Narmadā, the *mandala* of Mathurā and the holy city of Benares It is no good fighting against an exceedingly mighty foe. Accept these therefore and surrender instead the fort of Ranthambhor to the Emperor."

"Surjan agreed to these terms, being himself desirous of visiting these sacred places He, accordingly, left Ranthambhor and went away with his people to the banks of the Narmadā "[4]

The above account does not obviously lend much support to Tod's "detailed story" It shows Surjan receiving not the magnificent bribe of the government of 52 districts but of only three There is no mention also of the romantic episode of Akbar's entry into the fort disguised as the mace-bearer of Raja Mānsingh Though he might have actually done something to bring together the Hādās and the Mughals,[5] this Rajput Prince is not mentioned even once in the *Surjancarit* and cannot be identified also with the *saciva* said to have been sent into Ranthambhor[6] to negotiate the terms of its surrender, for on turning to the *Akbarnāma* we find this person to be Husain Kuli Khān, a trusted officer of the empire who was later on known as Khān Jahān and was appointed to the responsible and risky posts of the governorships of the Punjab and Bengal [7]

So Tod's account is not, after all, of much historical value If future historians of Akbar's reign want to supplement the meagre account of the siege and surrender of Ranthambhor in 1569 A D, found in the *Akbarnāma* they should rely not on the *Annals of Būndī* but on the *Surjancarit*, a work of great value for the history of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor and Būndī.

DASARATHA SHARMA

4 *Surjancarit*, Cantos 16 and 17

5 I do not deny the possibility because, in the *Akbarnāmā*, we find a servant of Bhagwant Dās dying at the hands of a Rājpūt in the train of Surjan's sons and exclaiming to the end that he was a friend of both the parties The accident occurred at the time of these Princes' visit to the Emperor's court

6 See the account summarised above 7 *Akbarnāmā*, II, p 495

Hyder Ali's Appeal to the Hon'ble East India Co. 1764*

The Hon'ble East India Company was particularly interested in the capture of pepper and sandalwood markets of Mysore To see the monopoly of this trade safely assigned to them, they requested Hyder Ali's help in their enterprise.

In his letter dated the 27th August 1764, Hyder Ali writes to the Bombay Council as follows ' By Muhamed Husain I received your letter and the presents you sent to me which gave me great satisfaction I observed all that you say and Manockjee has told me everything for you. The trade of pepper and sandalwood is entirely yours, and I wish our friendship may daily be more and more increased for our mutual happiness '[1]

Hyder Ali at this time was not on good terms with the Marathas Taking undue advantages of their internal troubles, he captured their possessions like Sera and others The Peshwa Madhav Rao was making preparations to lead expedition against Hyder Ali Such being the attitude of the Peshwa, Hyder Ali wanted to court the Nizam and the English to his side, with the object of destroying the Marathas He also repulsed a small force of about 4000 soldiers of the Marathas under the command of Gopal Rao and Vithal Shivde Referring to his victory, Hyder Ali informed the British, 'That the Marathas have been twice repulsed by me and are now retired about three days journey off Still we are not friends Nawab Nizam Ally Khan proposes to come here with his force and then if you join us, we three can entirely defeat the Marathas And all the country to the Northward belonging to the Marathas shall be delivered to you by our assistance You need not appear in it Let me only be the acting man When this country was in the Moghul's possession you had your factories from Carwar to Dabhool, and by destroying the Marathas, you will not only have those factories again but get lakhs of rupees annually [2]

Hyder Ali also informed the English that the Siddi of Janjira, too had appealed to the Nizam, signifying his intention to co-operate with them provided the English joined them Continuing further, he observed, "They have great revenues at Arcot, where I am told they propose taking

* The object of writing this article is to fill in the lacuna, or, rather to supplement Dr N K Sinha's article, 'Hyder Ali's Relations with the British,' *Indian Historical Records Commission's Proceedings*, Baroda Session, (17th), p 69

1 Public Dept Diary, 10, pp 592 594 2 *Ibid*

all the places belonging to the English. The Ghaut of Arcot is in my hands and I have prevented them from coming to this side The places there and Chinnapatam are all opened and if the Marathas which consists of 50,000 to 60,000 men should come, they will ruin the English country This, Your Honour must be sensible of and if you think proper write to the Governor of Madras to join us We shall go against the Marathas and drive them from the river Cristna If they are demolised, the English country will be in peace and tranquility"[3] He therefore requested the English to supply him with guns soldiers, and ammunition from Bombay at his own expense[4] Further he asked them to write to their governor of Chinapatam to render him help, the expenses of which would be borne by him[5]

Fearing that Muhummed Ali was carrying on wicked tales to prejudice the Governor of Madras against him Hyder Ali wrote to say, 'Please acquaint the Madras Gentleman that you are sending a force to help me and desire them to do the same Muhamed Ally Khan is always telling the Governor of Madras idle tales to my prejudice and endeavours to get him against me but he is a good man and does not regard what Muhomed Ally Khan tells and continues to correspond with me.' To safeguard against the treachery of the Portuguese, Hyder Ali asked the English to inform the Portuguese that he was their friend, and as such he should not be molested He then requested the English to send him five guns 25 pounders, five guns 28 pounders and five thousand English and German muskets He also promised to pay their charges and expenses through the Resident in his state[6]

Hyder Ali promised to send all the pepper and sandalwood to the English as before and to continue the supply for a year more The English fearing that the Marathas would attack Hyder Ali's ports such as Onnore and destroy their valuable depots and godowns, promised to consider his proposal They knew that Hyder Ali would not be able to spare any troops to defend their factories and godowns of pepper and sandalwood and others And it was in their interest to keep a small vessel for patrolling the coastal seas This would have double advantage—killing two birds with one stroke —to strike terror in the minds of the Marathas and to increase their in-

3 Public Dept Diary, 10, pp 592-594

4 *Ibid*

5 *Ibid*

6 *Ibid.*

fluence over Hyder Ali.[7] They pondered over his proposal deeply before committing themselves to Hyder Ali. They enquired into the nature of advantages accruing from their support to Hyder Ali. But the President of the Bombay Council thought that it was not the proper time for the English to come into an open conflict with the Marathas, because Hyder Ali had lost a good number of soldiers and horses due to sickness and desertion, neither of which he could recruit in his country On the contrary, the Marathas had prudently divided their army into different winter quarters and by this means suffered very little from the severity of the weather.[8]

Inspite of these drawbacks, Hyder Ali submitted a fresh proposal to the Engllish as follows.[9]

1 That the English should help both Nizam Ali and himself with such a force as to depress the Marathas

2 For rendering such help, Hyder Ali promised to procure from the Nizam, the grant of all the country situated below the ghauts from Goa to Surat, which might be captured by the combined forces of the three

3 No member of the contracting parties was to make peace with the Marathas without the consent of all the three parties

4. The Nizam was to allow double batta to the English soldiers but as his finances were low, he desired the Hon'ble Co to bear the expenses of paying their own troops

5. On his part, Hyder Ali promised to bear the expenses of any party that come to his succour and promised to advance 2 or 3 lakhs of rupees on that account.

In case the above terms were acceptable to the Hon'ble Co, Hyder promised that the Hon'ble East India Co could have exclusive rights of all pepper in his dominions and a preference on every other branch of trade.[11] He also promised to get the terms ratified by the Nizam, with whose permission, he said he had opened the negotiations [12]

Hyder Ali nevertheless wanted the English to help him with ammunation and soldiers, even in case his proposal met a flat refusal

As the Maratha army under Madhav Rao was encamped near Hyder's the Hon'ble Co. felt that his position was precarious and as such it was not

7 Public Dept Diary, 10, pp 546-547 — 8 *Ibid*
9 *Ibid* — 10 *Ibid*
11 *Ibid* — 12 *Ibid*

safe Therefore they declined to extend any help to him for fear of exciting the Marathas Secondly, the terms of Hyder Ali were not very attractive to them.

K. SAJAN LAL

A New Reference to the Guṇapatākā

It was Mr P K. Gode who first invited[1] the attention of students of Sanskrit literature to the *Gunapatākā*, a lost Sanskrit work, of which only *five* references were available to him, and on the basis of which he assigns the work to a period earlier than A D. 1200.

Dr V Raghavan later announced[2] a few more references he had come across From the *three* allusions[3] to the *Gunapatākā* in the commentary of Kāñcīnātha on the *Ratirahasya* as a *Śāstra*, he infers that this work must be a treatise on Erotics He also assigns the work to the period *c* 1010 1062 A D

The object of this small note is to draw the notice of scholars to the *Kakokaśastratīke*, an anonymous commentary in Kannada on the *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka It belongs to *c* 1600 A D , and refers to the *Gunapatākā* as an earlier work on Erotics. The late R Narasimhacārya seems to have examined a Ms of this work, and the entire information given by me above is based on his description[4] of this commentary I have not myself come across any Ms of it

This new reference does not contradict the date already proposed for the *Gunapatākā* On the contrary, it supports it, whether such a confirmation is necessary or not It has, however, the merit of being able to establish that the *Gunapatāka* is an ancient treatise on Erotics, a fact which was still now, more or less, an inference And even if this merit is to be questioned, it has doubtless a value as an additional reference to a work which is still to be described as lost

H. G. NARAHARI

1 P K Gode, *IHQ*, vol XVII, pp 82 ff
2 V Raghavan, *Ibid*, vol XVIII, p 166 f
3 *Ratirahasya* (Benares Edn), pp 35, 37 and 44
4 R. Narasimhacarya, *Karnātaka Kavicarite*, III 287 ff

Seals of an unknown Dynasty from Nālandā

Of the royal seals found in the excavations at Nālandā and now published in Dr Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Materials,* there are two fragmentary seals giving the genealogy of a ruler whose name is missing [1] The fragments allow us to frame the following genealogy

(Mahārāja) Lavkhāṇa
|
(Mahārājādhirāja) name missing
m Vittavvadevī
|
(Mahārāja) Jarīva[2]
m Melyādevī[3]
|
(Mahārājādhirāja) name missing
|
Name missing
(author of the seal)

It is clear that the seal does not belong to any v known dynasty o India, indeed, from the curious names it has been sum l that 'the dynasty to which this seal belonged might have been of some Arvan descent'

Cunningham, in describing the coins of the Hūnas, makes us acquainted with a coin with the legend *Rāja-Lakhana Udayāditya,*[4] which is alike in type, size and general fabric to the coins of Shāhi Javula and Deva Shāhi Khingila, the latter of whom he identifies with Khinkhila Narendraditya, one of the rulers of Kashmir mentioned by Kalhana (i 347)[5] as closely following Mihirakula He concludes that these three rulers were supreme monarchs of an extensive empire of which Kashmir was only a tributary province

Another Hūna ruler known from a few coins was Shāhi Jara or Jau who issued coins of different types[6] Commenting on them, Cunningham

1 Sastri, *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Materials* Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No 66, p 70, pl ix, *c-d*

2 I propose this reading for *Jarāvva* in the published text For the form of the superscript *ī*, cf *śrī* before *ja* Contrast also the forms of *rā* occurring elsewhere on the seals

3 There seems to exist an obliterated letter between *lyā* and *de* on the first seal

4 Cunningham, *Later Indo Scythians,* pp 97, 111, pl vii, 12 The correct reading, to judge from the plate, seems to be *Lakhāna*

5 Stein, vol I, p 52

6 Cunningham, *loc cit*, pp 98, 114, pl viii, 11-14

says. 'The name seems to be incomplete, but four coins of different issues offer nothing further These coins I would assign to Gandhāra.'

The probable identity of Lavkhāna and Jarīva of the Nālandā seals with the Hūna Lakhāṇa and Jari .. of the coins cannot be overlooked, especially as the palæography of the seals and coins would indicate the same period for them. Owing to the extremely fragmentary condition of the seals the names of not more than two rulers can be made out on them. Had more names been left to us, we could probably have been able to identify all of them with those of Hūna rulers of north-western India known from coins, making the proposed identifications certain.

The *Rājataranginī* also mentions (iii. 383) a ruler called Lahkhana Narendrāditya in the second Gonanda dynasty Following Cunningham's identification of Khingila of the coins with Khinkhila of Kalhana, Stein observes 'It appears very probable that by Laḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya of the *Rajatarangini* is meant the same king who calls himself Laḥkhana Udayāditya on the coins'[7] Whatever value be attached to Kalhana's narrative before the Kārkotaka dynasty, it should be noted in fairness that the succession after Lavkhāna in the Nālandā seal is utterly different from that of Lahkhana in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, where he is succeeded by his brother Tuñjīna Ranāditya and not by a son. The names of the successive queens are also different Whether these facts indicate two different rulers or whether the differences are due to the unreliability of Kalhana's account before the seventh century A D is a point on which we cannot be sure due to gaps in our knowledge of the history of the Hūnas

A. Ghosh

7 *Loc cit*, p 106 Cf p 66 of the Introduction

REVIEWS

ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA (HINDU PERIOD), by late Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar M.A., Revised and edited by Gurty Venkata Rao, M.A., LL.B., Reader in History, Andhra University Published by the Andhra University, Andhra University Series, No. 27, 1942.

The author of this book was "a luminary in the South Indian educational horizon." He died in 1931, leaving the present work incomplete. "In response to the request of his family the Andhra University undertook to publish this last work of his and entrusted its editing to Mr. Gurty Venkata Rao, M.A., LL.B, Reader in History." Mr Rao has offered the book to the public after a thorough revision of the author's manuscript, "rewriting certain portions and supplying certain omissions.' The Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University says in his *Foreword* that "the work in its present form is almost a joint production"

The book deals with the history of ancient India from the earliest times down to *circa* 900 A D. The author frankly writes from the South Indian standpoint. "On his theory," says the Vice-Chancellor, "there is no ground for claiming South India as Dravidasthan, since the whole of India is more or less Dravidasthan." On many aspects of ancient Indian history his conclusions are startingly bold and original For instance "The chief difference between the Dasyus and the Aryas was one of cult and not of culture or race," "the Vedic rites developed from pre-Aryan ones." "Āgamas were evolved from ancient Dasyu practices and theories," etc The author has not offered convincing arguments in support of these novel conclusions. The chief interest of the book consists in the data from Tamil literature which the author frequently refers to

A C BANERJEE

THE EARLY MUSLIM EXPANSION IN SOUTH INDIA, by N. Venkataramanyya, M.A., Ph D, Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras, Madras University Historical Series. No. 17, 1942. Pp. 216.

The fall of the Hindu States of Southern India in the first half of the fourteenth century as a result of Turkish aggression is an episode of vital

importance in the history of medieval India More than two decades ago Dr. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar described the history of the early Muslim inroads into the Deccan in his *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* (1921) Dr. Aiyangar's chapter on the "Hindu States in Southern India" in *The Cambridge History of India* (Vol III, 1928) gives the same story in a very brief form The accumulation of new materials, both Hindu and Muslim, now demands the compilation of a more authentic account of the subject Dr Venkataramanyya, a South Indian scholar specially competent to deal with this important aspect of South Indian history, is to be congratulated on the production of an excellent monograph dealing with the expansion of the Turkish empire beyond the Vindhyas. He has made excellent use of 'Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin*, a particularly valuable source-book for the period, and he has also paid proper attention to epigraphic materials, specially to the copper-plate charters of the Musunuri Chiefs and the Reddi Kings of Kondavidu and Rajamundry brought to light in recent years Perhaps he has on some occasions paid less attention to Barani than that contemporary chronicler deserves, this is probably due to his emphasis on 'Isami's evidence It is also somewhat surprising to note that the author has relied on the translations of Elliot and Dowson, Briggs, Ranking and others He has quoted extensively, and sometimes unnecessarily, from 'Isami's text, but he has seldom referred to the *texts*, of Barani, Nizam-ud-din, Badauni and Ferishta But he has given us a fairly full, accurate and readable narrative, which begins with a brief account of the inter-state relations in South India on the eve of Alauddin Khalji's invasion of Devagiri, and concludes with the disintegration of the Turkish Empire in the Deccan towards the close of Muhammad Tughluq's reign. The story of the campaigns would have become far more interesting and intelligible if the author had cared to add illustrative maps. It is to be regretted that he has not given us a bibliography

A C. BANERJEE

ARAB GEOGRAPHERS' KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTH INDIA by S Muhammud Husain Nainar University of Madras 1942 241 pp.

Dr Nainar has, for sometime past, been doing useful work on South Indian history, specially on its Muhammedan period The present volume, which embodies his doctorate dissertation, relates to the earliest evidences

of Muslim contact with South India. From the 9th to the 13th century, when the Arabs monopolised the entire maritime commerce of the Indian Ocean, South India came closer to Arabia than at any other period in her history. They naturally came to possess a first-hand knowledge of the country which was later transmitted to Europe and formed the starting point of geographical discoveries in the East. In the extant Arabic works, however, instead of an accurate description, we find, in the main a mass of disjointed information, bearing on the itinerary, manners and products of what is called 'Hind and Sind'. On closer examination as has been done by the author of the book under review, this assorted material reveals the existence of not more than two or three original sources whom all the other writers quote verbatim. Even these independent sources are not what we would call scientifically written treatise. They are mostly compilations of travellers' 'accounts, or, as Dr Nainar calls them, a kind of Arabian nights only rarely supplemented by accurate personal observation.' By a critical analysis of the earliest work on this subject, the *Silsilat al-twārīkh*, the author has shown that it is neither the work of a single person, nor is it the composition of the merchant Sulayman to whom it is generally ascribed. It is a mere collection of reports of voyages and travels, gathered from different sources and perhaps at different times. From *Ibn Khurdadbeh* to Abul Feda not a single writer cared to enquire into the accuracy, for example of the account of 'Balhera' of Mankir. Masudi travelled extensively, and yet his *Murūj-al-Zahab*, so far as India is concerned is only an enlarged edition of Sulayman's. Idrisi set out to write a scientific geography of the world under royal patronage, but had nothing new to say of India. These only prove by contrast, the originality and greatness of Al-Beruni, but his personal observations were confined to North India.

Imperfect though they are, no student of history can afford to ignore the Arab accounts, and Dr Nainar has rendered a distinct service by presenting them in the form of a tabulated summary. It makes it easy for students to check up references and correct misconceptions and also supplies interesting information. Such for example, is the reference to the Muslims who lived happily under the Balhera and enjoyed the right of being ruled by their own officers and judged by their own laws (p. 163). 'In the countries of Hind and Sind' we are told by Idrisi, 'there are Muslims who bury their dead secretly by night (p. 108)'. In a report ascribed

to Sulayman but referring most probably to an earlier period, (p. 108) mention is made of Islam not having made a single convert in India and of these not being a single person who could speak Arabic. It would be interesting to compare the account of Hindu religious sects with that given by Al-Beruni and Marvazi The author has subjected the material to a thorough examination and prunning, and has divided what is left of original matter into four sections places, customs, kings and products, grouping under subjects each item of information recorded by successive writers Extensive notes and comments have been added by way of examining the accuracy of the statements, and in doing this the author has laid under contribution all the latest works on South India. Places and kings whose identification is doubtful have been put in separate sections, among such doubtful names is the term '*Saluqiyyun*' (p 171) whose phonetic resemblance to Cālukya is too close to escape notice One is struck by the tremendous amount of labour involved in the preparation of the work which must be welcomed as affording valuable help both to elucidating South Indian history and to studying Arabic geographical literature.

A B M HABIBULLAH

KEŚAVA PAṆḌITA'S DAṆḌANĪTIPRAKARAṆAM, edited by V S Bendrev, published by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, 1943 Pages 76+64

The volume under review is said to be actually an Appendix to Mr. Bendrey's work entitled *Indian Criminal Jurisprudence in Ancient and Historic Times* which is yet to be published The value of the little book would no doubt have been enhanced if it was published along with a dissertation of that nature But Keśava's *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* is itself of considerable interest as it is a fairly satisfactory compilation of the views of a large number of authorities on criminal law in ancient India and as it was apparently one of the standard works consulted throughout the Śiva-śāhī period of the history of Mahārāṣṭra.

Keśava Bhaṭa, author of the *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa*, appears to have gained the favour of Śivājī about the time of the Rājāpur assembly of learned Pandits held in 1664 and to have lived thereafter at Rāygarh in the service of the Maratha king He visited Benares sometime before 1674 in order

to secure sanction of the Benares Paṇḍits, especially of Gāgā Bhaṭa, to the coronation of Śivajī. During the reign of Śambhājī (1680 89) Keśava was made Paṇḍita-rāya and was entrusted with the duties of Dānādhyakṣa. He also served Rājārāma, successor of Śambhājī, and composed a work entitled *Rājārāmacarita* in 1690. Keśava died probably in 1719 The *Daṇḍanīti-prakaraṇa* is said to be a part of his bigger work called *Nītimañjarī* which was probably embodied in the *Budhabhūṣaṇa* by king Śambhājī. The *Nītimañjarī* is further said to form a part of Keśava's still greater compilation entitled *Dharmakalpalatā* The author however appears to have completed the compilation only of the Dandanīti section of his work

Mr. Bendrey's introduction gives a fairly complete account, of the MS material of the work and of its author. The editor has tried to show that the *Parabhūkathā* or *Parabhūkāyasthānām Kulācāranirnayaḥ* is a spurious work and is not actually composed by Keśava Bhata. There is an interesting appendix on the Panditarāya Raghunātha The short dissertation on the history of Mahārāṣtra of the Śivashāhī period from the political, economic, social and religious points of view is interesting.

Keśava's work deals with *daṇḍanirūpana*, *caurya*, *pāradārya*, *vākpāruṣya*, *daṇḍapāruṣya* and *kevalasāhasa* It is a compilation of verses from some fifty authorities on the criminal law of Hindu India It is possible however that many of the citations were taken from quotations in recognised older works. Sometimes, at the assemblies of Pandits held for deciding disputes, authoritative works are known to have been carried for reference, and a document entitled the *Śyenavī-jāti-nirnaya* made at an assembly attended by Keśava himself gives a long list of such authorities It is interesting to note that many works of this list, e g the *Bṛhatkathā*, were apparently not extant in the 17th century (cf अष्टादशपुराणानि पल्लवानि च सर्वशः । संहिताश्चापि विविधाश्चितार्था च बृहत्कथाम् ॥ Introd., p. 17).

Keśava Bhata has laboured hard to make his compilation as comprehensive and complete as the materials at his disposal permitted Sometimes however the lines are not quoted as they are found in the original. Cf

प्रजापालनं च केभ्यः कार्यमित्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः—
चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ॥
अयुक्तिकेभ्यश्चोरेभ्यः (आयुक्तकेभ्य० ?) परेभ्यो राजवल्लभात् ॥
पीड्यमाना. प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥

Here *cāṭa*° etc. and *pīdya*° etc. are found to make verse 336 of the

Yājñavalkyasaṃhitā, Ācārādhyāya The *Vahni Purāṇa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrumapariśiṣṭa* has

चाटचारणचौरेभ्यो वधबन्धभयादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थेभ्यो विशेषतः ॥

The editor would have done well if he could try to trace, as far as practicable, the lines quoted by Keśava to the originals or to earlier works.

We recommend the volume under review to all students of the criminal law of Hindu India

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VII, pt 2 (May, 1943)

P. K. GODE—*The Commentary of Caturbhuja Miśra of Kāmpilya on the Amaruśataka and its Chronology* An analysis of some data contained in the mss of Caturbhuja Miśra's *Bhāvacintāmani* a commentary on the *Amaruśataka* shows that Caturbhuja composed his work between 1250 and 1600 A C and was a resident of Kāmpilya which, as is suggested in this note, may be identified with Kampil 28 miles north-east of Fattegad in the Farakkabad district of the United Provinces

K MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA—*The Dharmatattva-kalanidhi of Mahārāja Pṛthvīcandra* The *Dharmatattvakalānidhi* is a voluminous work on Dharmaśāstra in ten prakāśas or sections by Pṛthvīcandra, a ruler of a certain region not yet identified The mss of the three Prakāśas on Vyavahāra, Vrata and Samaya bear dates pointing to the latter half of the 15th century A C

A N KRISHNA AIYANGAR—*Inscriptions of Uttaramerūr* The three Tamil inscriptions published here record grants made by three different persons for the maintenance of perpetual lamps in temples They belong to the time of Rājarāja the Great of the Imperial Colas of the Vijayālaya line

H G NARAHARI—*Viśesāmṛta of Tryambakamiśra.* This small orthographical lexicon giving different forms of the same word has been edited

THE FOLLOWING SERIAL PUBLICATIONS APPEAR IN THIS ISSUE

ऋग्वेदव्याख्या - माधवकृता. Edited
Nyāyakusamāñjali of Udayana Translated into English
Gopālatāpanyupanisad Translated into English
होराशास्त्रम्—सटीकम्—वराहमिहिरकृतम्. Edited
सङ्गीतरत्नाकरः—चतुरकल्लिनाथकृतया सिंहभूपालकृतया च टीकया समेतः. Edited.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
vol. XVIII, (1942)

H D VELANKAR—*The Family-hymns in the Family-Mandalas* The discussion shows that in the Family-Mandalas (II-VII) of the *Rgveda* there are hymns which may properly be described as family hymns, because

the poets there refer to some unusual exploits of the earlier ancestors and glorify their own families.

A. D PUSALKAR —*Yajñaphalam · A Newly Discovered Drama by Bhāsa* The *Yajñaphala*, a drama dealing with some of the events of Rāma's life prior to his marriage has recently been published by Rajavaidya Rajaram Kalidasa Sastri who ascribed the authorship of the work to Bhāsa The present paper supports Bhāsa's authorship of the drama.

A. P KARMARKAR —*The Purusasūkta (Rgveda X, 90) and the Mystic Glorification of the Human Victim*

Journal of Indian History, vol XXII, pt 1 (April, 1943)

BAIJ NATH PURI —*The State of Brahmanism in the Kusāna Period* In opposition to the opinion that the Brahmanical religion was disintegrated during the alien rule of the Kusānas and was revived later by the Guptas, the writer of the paper argues that the Kusānas in fact earnestly supported Brahmanism by performing sacrificial rites, paying handsome donations to the Brāhmanas, and creating endowments for their use, as the epigraphic records of the period show

S TIRUVENKATACHARI —*The Trivikrama Avatāra in Mahābalipuram* That Mahābalipuram had a temple of the Trivikrama Avatāra of Visnu is even now traceable Much importance was attached to this deity by the Pallava rulers

SYED MOINUL HAQ —*Was Sultan Khusrau Murdered?* Arguments are put forward against the evidence which makes Shahjahan guilty of murder of his elder brother Khusrau

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,

vol IV, pt 2 (December, 1942)

E H C WALSH —*A Comparative Study of the Patraha (Purnea) Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins*

A S ALTEKAR —*Further New Coins from Kauśāmbī* Names of nine new kings ruling between the 2nd century B C. and the 3rd century A C at Kauśāmbī had already been known from various coins belonging to the collection of Rai Braj Mohan Vyas Bahadur of Allahabad A further classification of some more coins from the same collection confirms the accuracy of the names of those rulers and reveals six more names of the rulers of Kauśāmbī hitherto unknown.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), vol IX, 1943, no 1

F A. Peter —*The 'Rin-Hbyun'* This is an introduction to an unpublished Tibetan iconographical work 'giving a comprehensive picture of the Lamaistic pantheon from its serene Buddhas to its raving devils'.

O R Baron Ehrenfels —*Traces of a Matriarchal Civilization among the Kolli Malaiyālis*

D H and M E Gordon —*The Cultures of Maski and Madhavpur* Maski is in the Lingsugur Taluka of the Raichur District of Hyderabad State and Madhavpur is on the southern outskirts of Belgaum An attempt has been made by the authors of the paper to gather the 'stratigraphic evidence of culture sequence' as can be known from the various objects unearthed from the different layers in those sites excavated some time ago In conclusion, Maski is dated "between the 5th century B C and the 2nd century A C , and Madhavpur between the 4th century B C and some date in the early centuries of the Christian era."

Verrier Elwin —*Conception, Pregnancy and Birth among the Tribesmen of the Maikal Hills*

Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf —*Megalithic Ritual among the Gadabas and Bondos of Orissa*

R. C Majumdar —*The King Candra of the Meharaulī Iron Pillar Inscription* A suggestion is made here that, king Candra mentioned in the Meharaulī Pillar Inscription as having conquered the Vahlīkas beyond the Indus might well be identified with Kaniska who had adopted, as is known from a Khotanese manuscript, the Indian name Candra, and who had at the same time ruled over Vahlīka.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XI, pt 4 (January, 1943)

B. A Saletore —*Queen Balla Mahādevī* The epigraphic records show that Balla Mahādevī, the queen of the Ālupa ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I took up, on the death of her husband in 1277 A C., the administration of the Tuluva kingdom in her own name With her capital at Bārahakanyāpura (Bārakūru) she ruled her subjects for about 15 years very successfully in close co-operation with her ministers, holding open *darbars* and consulting representative citizens in matters affecting them Her reign lasted till 1292 A C when her son Nāgadevarasa became king.

G M. Moraes—*The Maratha-Portuguese War of 1683-84*

New Indian Antiquary, vol. V, no. 12 (March, 1943)

K. Goda Varma—*Different Authorship of the Kārikā-grantha and the Vrtti-grantha of Dhvanyāloka* Evidence is adduced in support of the opinion that the author of the Kārikā portion of the *Dhvanyāloka* is different from Ānandavardhana who is known to be the author of the Vrtti portion of the work

Ibid, vol VI, no. 1 (April, 1943)

C Kunhan Raja—*Praśnamālā of Krsna Bhatta* The *Praśnamālā* found among the manuscripts in the Fort at Bikaner deals with a few problems about the text of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* The importance of the work lies in the unique nature of the questions discussed and the critical line of thinking adopted by the author Krsna alias Hosinga who lived in the court of Maharaja Karansinghji of Bikaner in the 17th century. The work as discovered is not complete and the questions raised in it altogether nine in number pertain to the first three cantos of the *Raghuvamśa*

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XVIII, no III, (October, 1942)

Angelo Moses—*The Carvāka Theory of Knowledge* Perception by the senses (pratyaksa) is, according to the Cārvākas, the only source of true knowledge The reasons why they do not accept inference as a *pramāna* or source of trustworthy knowledge are discussed in the paper The Cārvākas have postulated four elements, earth, air, fire and water as the sole reality, from which intelligence is produced They affirm that the soul is not different from the body and that the phenomena of the world are spontaneously produced without the help of any agent

Ibid, vol. XVIII, no. 4 (January, 1943)

G R Malkani—*A Justification of Māyāvāda.*

Poona Orientalist, vol. VII, nos 3-4 (October, 1942-January, 1943)

S. S Suryanarayan Sastri—*Śankara and the Schools of Vedānta* Doctrinal differences that have developed among the followers of Śankara have been discussed in the paper The *Bhāmatī* and the *Vivarana* school differ as to the correct view of Śaṅkara in regard to various issues, some of which are of major importance The statements of Śankara have given rise to a controversy regarding the plurality of Jīvas and the locus

of nescience. The author of the *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* and Appayya Dīkṣita are not in agreement as to the meaning of those statements. The *Sūtra-bhāṣya* and the *Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas* of the master himself contain conflicting views in them. It is quite plausible, therefore, concludes the writer of this paper, that Śaṅkara 'wrote or dictated whatever came uppermost in his mind at the moment caring little for consistency with what he had said at other times, so long as consistency was maintained with the final position' (non-dualism).

S K. DE—*The Sanskrit Prahasana* Several Prahasanas or farcical plays in Sanskrit both in point and in manuscript have been described here, showing that though at times lively they 'suffer as a whole from poverty of invention and lack of taste'

P K GODE.—*Kavikaustubha, an unknown Work on Poetics by Raghunātha Manohara and its Chronology—between A D 1675 and 1700*

R. SHAMASASTRY.—*The Ṛbhus and the Four Soma-cups* The Ṛbhu-sūkta of the *Ṛgveda* (I 161) has been interpreted in the light of the writer's interesting assertions that many of the stories and statements in the Vedas and Purāṇas have reference to various astronomical phenomena. The Camasa cup which is mentioned in the Ṛbhu-sūkta as turning into four is nothing but the celestial sphere or circle divided into four parts each corresponding to three months

G B. DEVASTHALI—*The Authorship of the Siddhāntamuktāvalī-prakāśa and the Upper Limit for the Date of Gaṅgārāma Jadin* The *Prakāśa* is a commentary on the *Nyāyasiddhānta-muktāvalī* of Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana. It is surmised that Mahādeva, son of Bālakṛṣna, wrote the commentary upto the end of the section on Pratyakṣa in collaboration with Dinakara, probably his own son who alone is responsible for the rest of the work Gaṅgārāma Jadin who has written a gloss on the *Prakāśa* is the son of the daughter of Dinakara and the great-great-grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the *Mayūkhas* His literary activities ranged approximately between 1715 and 1750 A. C.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA—*Sumanottarā* The *Sumanottarā* is the name of a Sanskrit romance (ākhyāyikā) quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Those who were specially versed in the romance have been called by Patañjali Saumanottarikas The story of Sumana, a merchant of Rājagṛha and his pious wife Uttarā as given in Buddhist literature had probably formed the theme of the *Sumanottarā*

Printed and published by J C Sarkhel, at the Calcutta Oriental Perss, Ltd, 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

WORKS
OF
DR NALINAKSHA DUTT, M A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D., D.LITT
OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

1 EARLY HISTORY OF THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM AND THE BUDDHIST SCHOOLS (Out of print)

2 ASPECTS OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM AND ITS RELATION TO HINAYANA with a foreword by Prof. Louis de la Vallee Poussin Demy 8vo pp xiii + 358 Price Rs 12/-

3 SUMANGALA-VILASINI (Commentary on Digha Nikaya) Suttas VIII XV Fasc I Super Royal 8vo Price Rs 2/-

4 PAÑCAVIMSATISAHASRIKĀ PRAJÑAPĀRAMITĀ Vol I Edited for the first time from original manuscripts with critical notes, introduction and resume Demy 8vo pages xxxvi + ... Rs 8/

5 BOD... ...ited for the first time ... ...mbridge University Lib... Re 1/

6 THR... ...EARLY BUDDHISM ... Rs 2/

7 EAR... ...my 8vo pp vii + 340 ... Rs 6/

The B... ...Dutt has done a di... ...gether a variety of... ...endious volume d...

8 ... is critically ed... ...anskrit manuscri... ...H the Maharaja...

9 ... ...ja-sūtra (part 1 C... ...ical edition based... ...tion in English c... ... + 214

10 ... ...rg the *Civaravast...* ...avastu critically ... ...nglish Pages xxi...

NB— ... by the gracious per... ...Maharaja Shri Harisin...